

# Studies on Urartu and Neighbors

## by R. D. Barnett

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Richard David Barnett (1909-1986), historian, archaeologist, and Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum, published these twelve studies in various journals between 1950 and 1972.

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[The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van](#), from *Iraq*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), pp. 1-43.

[Russian Excavations in Armenia](#), by R. D. Barnett, W. Watson, from *Iraq*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Autumn, 1952), pp. 132-147.

[The Find of Urartian Bronzes at Altin Tepe, Near Erzincan](#), by R. D. Barnett, N. Gökce, from *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 3 (1953), pp. 121-129.

[Karatepe, the Key to the Hittite Hieroglyphs](#), from *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 3 (1953), pp. 53-95.

[The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, near Van: Addenda](#), from *Iraq*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring, 1954), pp. 3-22.

[The Excavations of Nimrud, 1949-53](#), by R. D. Barnett, D. J. Wiseman, from *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Mar., 1955), pp. 16-18.

[The Treasure of Ziwiye](#), from *Iraq*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 111-116.

[Persepolis](#), *Iraq*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring, 1957), pp. 55-77.

[Further Russian Excavations in Armenia \(1949-1953\)](#), from *Iraq*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring, 1959), pp. 1-19.

[The Urartian Cemetery at Igdyr](#), from *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 13 (1963), pp. 153-198.

[Xenophon and the Wall of Media](#), from *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 83 (1963), pp. 1-26.

[More Addenda from Toprak Kale](#), from *Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 22, Special Number in Honour of the Seventieth Birthday of Professor Seton Lloyd (1972), pp. 163-178.

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The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van

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## THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM AT TOPRAK KALE NEAR VAN

By R. D. BARNETT

THE objects from Toprak Kale in Armenia are often referred to in archæological literature, but usually in vague terms or with one author contradicting the other. Thus for Perrot and Chipiez (1882)<sup>1</sup> the bronze furniture-ornaments are simply Assyrian products found in Armenia. Heuzey,<sup>2</sup> writing in 1912, was clearly not in favour of their being Assyrian; they belonged to the art of Urartu. This was the deduction to be drawn from Belck and Lehmann-Haupt's excavations at the end of the last century.<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt's own views<sup>4</sup> were that the culture of the Urartians was "almost wholly western with only minor traces of Assyrian influence," while its own influence on Etruscan art was very noticeable. Karo<sup>5</sup> and Hertzfeld<sup>6</sup> laid great emphasis on the importance of Urartu as a centre of metal-working, and Hertzfeld asserted that Urartian art was a native, aboriginal creation, which influenced Assyrian art, finally passing into that of Achaemenid Persia, as shown by certain pieces in the Oxus Treasure. Schachermayer<sup>7</sup> declared Urartian art to be a phase of that art of a larger cultural metal-working area embracing Eastern Anatolia and Tabal (Phrygia). Götze<sup>8</sup> expanded this area to include Western Persia.

Yet in spite of these varied opinions, and the life-long attention which Lehmann-Haupt dedicated to the subject, including his own discoveries, there has never appeared any account of the first all-important excavations in which the finest bronze pieces were found, nor has there been any really impartial attempt to discuss the position of Urartian art in the framework of the ancient world. While several of the finest pieces remained unpublished it was premature. Lehmann-Haupt, in fact, in an appendix<sup>9</sup> to his book spoke of his intention to publish those in the British Museum but never did so. Thus the state of uncertainty and confusion remained.

Though the most important pieces are scattered over the museums and collections of Europe, the largest group is that in the British Museum. It is therefore a duty without further delay to bring some order into the present confusion and lay the basis for further impartial study by presenting an account of that group. The access to various unpublished papers in the Layard Papers and elsewhere has made it possible to reassemble some of the much-needed information concerning the original excavations in which

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, Vol. 2, pp. 723-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Origines Orientales de l'Art*, pp. 231, 241.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Art. *Urartu* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIVth ed., 1929, summarises sufficiently well his views argued *in extenso* in his *Armenien Einst und Jetzt* (1919-1931).

<sup>5</sup> *Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit*, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 1921.

(915)

<sup>6</sup> *Khattische und Khaldische Bronzen*, *Janus*, Vol. 1 (Lehmann-Haupt Festschrift), 1921.

<sup>7</sup> Art. *Tuschpa* in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (1929).

<sup>8</sup> In Ch. IV (Das Reich von Urartu) of his *Kleinasien* (1933), pp. 182-185.

<sup>9</sup> *op. cit.*; appendix to Vol. II, pt. 11, p. 29.

the objects were found. It will be possible to understand those excavations better if we glance at their circumstances and consider the times when they took place.

One of the earliest indications to the Western world that the soil of Armenia contained important antiquities seems to have been conveyed in 1874, when the British Museum bought from a certain Mr. George Hormuzd a bronze figure,<sup>1</sup> 19 centimetres high, representing a bearded god standing upright with arms extended, which it was said had been found at Van (Plate XVIII, 3).

The early seventies of the last century marked the beginning of a new phase of intense archæological activity in Mesopotamia after a lull of fifteen years. In 1876 George Smith had been obliged to close down his excavations at Nimrud and Kuyunjik, partly on account of the unsettled state of the country, but also because the *firman* permitting him to excavate had expired; very shortly afterwards he met an untimely death.

But the Trustees of the Museum had now become thoroughly aroused to the need for further excavation, and authorised Hormuzd Rassam to apply through the British Ambassador at the Porte for a new *firman*. Rassam in youth had been Layard's trusted lieutenant and later his successor in the astonishing work of Assyrian discovery, but from 1854 to 1876 had been employed in the Indian Civil Service and other posts. He was now encouraged by the Trustees to apply to the Foreign Office for the post of Temporary Vice-Consul at Mosul, for which his previous career had well fitted him, and the appointment was given to him. Rassam has described in his book<sup>2</sup> his attempts, at first abortive, to procure the coveted *firman*, and how, with the sudden transfer of Layard from Madrid to the Embassy at Constantinople in April, 1877, his difficulties vanished. The chance that brought together again these two veterans of archæology was scarcely a fortunate conjunction of the stars. For the next four years the energetic Rassam was able to conduct so-called excavations, largely by proxy, at Nimrud, Kuyunjik, Balawat, Van, Babylon, Sippar, and Kalah Shergat. It is certain that the Museum's collections were thereby greatly enriched. But it is doubtful to us to-day whether this justified the wholesale wreckage caused by these indiscriminate plunderings in the name of science. Yet the situation was felt to be urgent and peculiar. First there was the need for more tablets. But Dr. Birch, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, adds more curious arguments,<sup>3</sup> explaining to Layard that Egypt is "almost exhausted" of antiquities (!) and Turkey's future—she was now at war with Russia—is a matter of great uncertainty. "If Armenia and Assyria are lost, Russia will allow no excavations." "Do

<sup>1</sup> B.M., 91147.

<sup>2</sup> *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod* (New York, 1897), p. 62 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Layard Papers LXXXIV (= B.M. Add. M.S. 39014), 31st Aug., 1877.

get a *firman* by hook or crook," he writes in October, "as ere long Mesopotamia will be lost to Turkey as I have all along foreseen."<sup>1</sup> These were, after all, mere errors of political prophecy, a notoriously unsafe ground. What is harder to understand is how Layard himself, after setting such high standards of efficiency in the supervision, recording and publishing of excavations at a time (1848-50) when such things were quite unknown, did not use his immense prestige and influence to insist that his pupil and protégé, with whom he remained in regular correspondence, should follow his remarkable example. It does not seem ever to have occurred to him, to Birch or to the Trustees that the pace of excavation ought to be, not increased, but slackened; or that Rassam, who, unlike Layard, was no draughtsman, might be accompanied by a person who could make some record of the sites and objects found.<sup>2</sup> During these four years' work on seven sites Rassam kept no registers, took only some imprecise notes and about six photographs and drew six maps, most of which are lost.<sup>3</sup> For all this Rassam is not entirely to blame, having in general merely carried out his orders.<sup>4</sup> Indifference to archæological method was in fact so general that it had become an accepted notion that any of H.B.M.'s. consuls in the Near East who were reliable and willing, might be called upon to vary their official duties with a little digging, irrespective of whether they had any acquaintance or experience of ancient studies. But we digress.

On August 3rd, 1877, Layard writes to Birch from Therapia telling him that a man (later described as an Armenian) has brought him some Assyrian (*sic*) bronzes found near Van. "They appear to me to have formed part of a throne or of a chest. Among them is a human headed bull, face turned inwards and arms folded across the chest like some that formed portals at Nimrud. The face is wanting and was probably of gold, as there are fragments of gold inlaying on other parts of the figure, and a bull with proper horned head. They are of solid bronze and heavy. The fragments consist of pieces of bronze or copper, apparently parts of panels, and a lion's paw like those

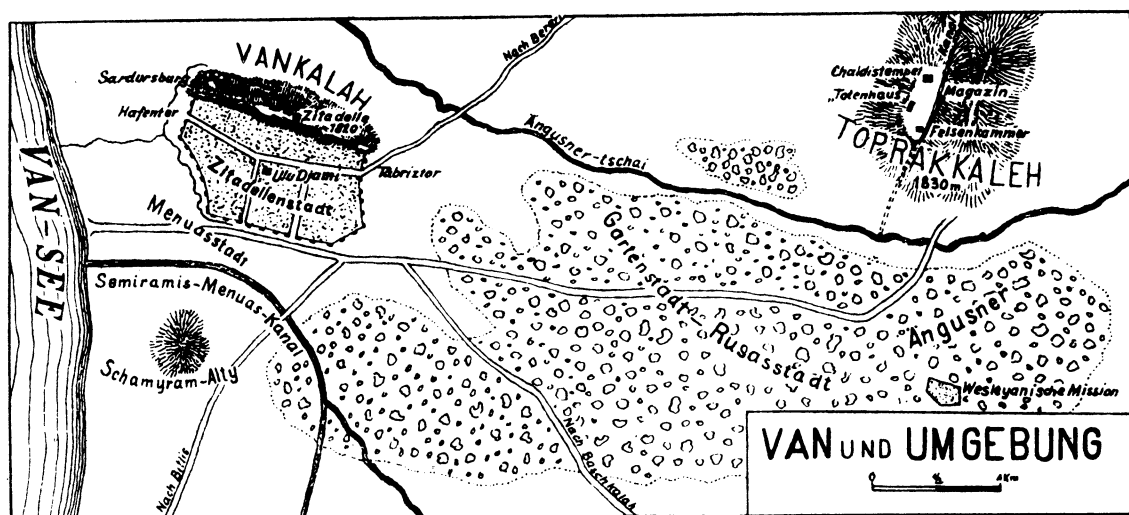
<sup>1</sup> Layard Papers LXXXV (= B.M. Add. MS. 39015), 20th Oct., 1877.

<sup>2</sup> From the appearance of Rassam's book (*op. cit.*), it would seem that at least he kept a diary on which the book is based. Rassam's achievements deserve some favourable consideration in view of his modest beginnings in Mosul and his education, limited to what the Protestant missionaries there could give him and supplemented by a short residence at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1849-52.

<sup>3</sup> They are mentioned in a letter to Birch, Departmental Correspondence, 28th Sept., 1881. They consisted of "plans of palaces and temples at Toprak-Kalaa near Van, Birs Nimrud, Babylon, Tel Ibraheem, (915)

Aboo Habba, and Ibraheem Elkhaleel." Only that of Aboo Habba is now to be found, bound in the Departmental Correspondence (Egyptian and Assyrian Department) for 1896. A portion of it is published in Rassam *op. cit.*, p. 407; that of Birs Nimrud appears *ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> As Seton Lloyd points out (*Foundations in the Dust*, p. 168), Rassam in fact openly boasts he exceeded his original instructions, namely, to seek for tablets at Kouyunjik, and refused to "confine his whole energy on such a tame undertaking" (*Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 200). The Trustees evidently acquiesced in his interpretation of their orders.



*Einst und Jetzt)*

found at Nineveh<sup>1</sup> belonging to a throne. In some of the pieces of panel are a few Assyrian letters." It is clear that illicit excavation had already begun at Van on a fair scale. After some hard bargaining with the Armenian owner lasting over five months Layard is able to report in December that he has been able to purchase the bronzes through Rassam for the British Museum. Rassam was in fact since October at Van discharging the political mission to Armenia and Kurdistan which he describes in his book, Chapters v-ix. Near Van he visited the site of Toprak Kale (Figs. 1, 2). "I found an artificial mound in the Assyrian style about four miles to the South East of Van on the top of a high hill or mountain above an Armenian church, where I believe those bronzes we saw in Constantinople were found," he writes to Layard,<sup>2</sup> and has asked both the Pasha of the province and Layard himself for permission to dig it, but is refused. The episode is mentioned on p. 130 of Rassam's book, but the all-important point, the reference to the source of the bronzes, is there discreetly omitted.

The bronzes acquired by the British Museum from Layard consist of the following pieces :

91177 Part of a model city<sup>3</sup> such as is often carried as tribute to the Assyrian kings (*e.g.*, Botta, *Monuments de Ninive*, Plates 125-134, cf. Plates 68, 69, (here Fig. 3) showing the battlements, windows and doors. Size 28 centimetres high by 36 centimetres wide (Plate I, 2).

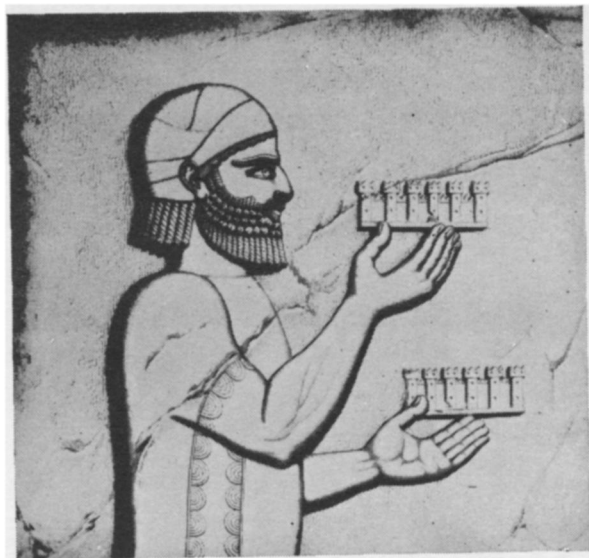


FIG. 3.—Assyrian Tributary carrying Model Castle

<sup>1</sup> Nimrud is meant, *e.g.*, Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Layard Papers, LXXXVI (= B.M. Add. MS. (915)

39016), 22nd Oct., 1877.

<sup>3</sup> Herzfeld, *Iran and the Ancient East*, p. 214, describes it as a house-facade.

91250 A turret, doubtless from the same model but not actually joining the last. The turret's projection outwards beyond the wall is apparently to be understood to be supported on horizontally laid tree trunks. Size, 16 centimetres high (Plate I, 1). For modern Anatolian houses built thus, see Krause, *Bogazköy, Tempel V*, pp. 52-4.

91251 Corner piece of a bed or throne, forming a right angle, ornamented on the inner face with a palmette band of Assyrian appearance, on the outer with patterns originally inlaid with other materials. One is of the shape of certain Assyrian wall ornaments.<sup>1</sup> On the top are two slots for attaching some now lost ornamental figure. On the underside are hieroglyphs, Fig. 4, 2, and slots probably for thongs forming the seat. Size, 15 centimetres long, 8.5 high. Originally cast in three pieces (Plates II and IV, 3).

91164 Foot of a large piece of furniture in the form of a lion's paw. The front was inlaid with a winged disc with hanging "tendrils" and two stars. The knuckles of the claws were also originally inlaid, and there are triangular and other shaped sockets for inlays<sup>2</sup> arranged in a vertical pattern up the sides of the foot. Inside are four vertical strokes. Height, 19 centimetres by 13 wide (Plate III). (91207, 91203 are parts of another such foot.)

91248 Winged bull (or bull-lion?), *couchant* and *regardant*. The face, originally of another material, and probably of human appearance, is lost. It was attached with bitumen, traces of which remain. The figure was cast hollow in one piece, and then inlaid and chased. Then the grooves were traced and gold leaf was slipped into the grooves and hammered in to hold firm, then stretched and laid over the figure. This gold leaf has disappeared except in the grooves.<sup>3</sup> Size, 13 centimetres long, 10.5 high (Plate V).

91247 Human-headed winged bull-man (more probably a woman), Plate VI, 1, 2, VII 1, *passant regardant*, wearing a horned crown and a kind of ornament round the neck. The front side of the wing has long cavities for



FIG. 4.—Hieroglyphs on [1] bronze bull-woman and [2] corner-piece of throne

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 18.

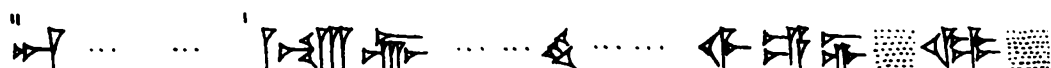
<sup>2</sup> Remains found in them have been chemically examined and prove to be of charred wood.

<sup>3</sup> I am obliged to Mr. Herbert Maryon for explaining the technique to me.

attaching inlays on the feathers. The face, like that of the last figure, is lost, having originally been attached with bitumen. On the top are three hieroglyphs (including a goat's head and a head of a helmeted man) (Fig. 4, 1) evidently not intended to be seen (Plate VII, 2). Size, 20.3 high, 16.4 long.<sup>1</sup>

116735 Parts of rim of circular object, probably a dish, miscalled a "shield," inscribed in cuneiform. Diameter, 78 centimetres. The inscription was first published by Sayce, *J.R.A.S.*, 1882, pp. 653-4, as a dedication of Rusas, son of Erimenas, grandson of Argistis. In *Z.A.* IX (1894), pp. 92-6, Belck and Lehmann exposed this as impossible, and claimed that it consisted of parts of the rims of two different "shields" or two groups of fragments, one of Rusas, son of Argistis (c. 680-645), another that of Rusas, son of Erimenas (c. 600 B.C.). Unfortunately the former group of fragments, that of Rusas, son of Argistis (116736), has disappeared. It was, according to Lehmann, written in "ungleich tiefere eingehammerte Schriftzeichen" (*Z.A.* IX, p. 94).

The inscription on 116735 appears to me now to be:—

"  "



"



(Cont. of fr. 11) *ILU* [*Hal-di-ni al-su-i-ši-ni*] (1) (...(*m*) *Ru-sa-* . . . (2) *hi*  
To the great Haldiš . . . . . Rusa

(3) [*ul-gu*]-*si-e-ni*-[*e*]-*di-ni* (5-11) *ILU Hal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-ni* (*m*)*Ru-sa-a-ni*  
(*m*)*E-ri-me-na-hi ŠARRU DAN-NU a-lu-si Tu-uš-pa-a* . . . *ALU*

. . . for his life, god Haldiš  
the great . . . Rusas son of Erimenas  
mighty king lord of Tušpa city

This is by some signs more complete than the text as copied by Sayce, and differs from the text as given by Lehmann-Haupt. It is of course part of

<sup>1</sup> 91247 and 91248 are illustrated in Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des Alten Orients*, Plate 546. 91247 also appears in Bossert, *Altanatolien*, figs. (915)

1175-6, where 1175 has been reproduced from a negative printed by mistake in reverse.

the full text which is in more complete form on Nos. 2 (22482) and 5, see below, p. 14.

91289 Parts of a decorative frieze of thin plating partly moulded in low relief and chased, partly in openwork. It shows rosettes (presumably solar), above mountains between kneeling bulls (the openwork patterns below perhaps representing water (Plate VIII, 2). An important part of this frieze bearing an inscription in cuneiform was later acquired in Van, as will be described below, p. 16.

A bronze "stud with mushroom shaped head" and a "square plug," probably bolts, also belong to this group.

Rassam's preoccupations at Kalah Shergat, Nimrud and Balawat prevented him during the season of 1878-9 from revisiting Van, and, as he had announced his intention not to return to the Near East, Layard himself suggested to Birch<sup>1</sup> that the Museum should approach Capt. Clayton,<sup>2</sup> the newly appointed British Vice-Consul at Van, requesting him to look out for antiquities and even to excavate. The Trustees agreed to do so, and it seems to have been left to Rassam to concert the arrangements. During his visit to Van in 1877, Rassam had shown the site of Toprak Kale to Dr. Raynolds,<sup>3</sup> an American Missionary teacher, who had promised to act for Rassam as an excavator if opportunity should arise. It now arose, and it was arranged that Raynolds should supervise the excavations as Rassam's deputy, while Clayton was to have the general direction of affairs, and receive and transmit the antiquities when found. The excavation was to take place under Rassam's name because the *firman* and the Vizirial letter, which were still valid, mentioned only Rassam as permitted to excavate. In any event, by this time Rassam had overcome his scruples about returning to the East.

Captain Emilius Clayton, as behoves a Royal Artillery officer, was a business-like and competent man, who was certainly enthusiastically interested in archæology. He writes to Layard that he has read his "Nineveh and Babylon" many times. He was also a tolerable draughtsman, but it is clear that his and Raynold's complete inexperience of archæology were unequal to the difficulties of the site, even if they had not been soon prevented by Raynolds' illness and Clayton's absence on political duties from attending adequately to their task. Yet the proceeds of the first season would have been enough to satisfy the modest expectations of any modern excavator. They had in fact discovered the site of a temple, as Rassam rightly recognised when he arrived on the spot<sup>4</sup> in August. An account of this dig is contained

<sup>1</sup> Layard to Birch, 14th July, 1879.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Lt.-Col. Clayton.

<sup>3</sup> This is his correct name, not Reynolds as spelt by Rassam, *op. cit.*, 377. For some account of

Raynold's work see Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, II, ch. 23, and for his portrait see *ibid.* p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Rassam, *op. cit.*, p. 378.



in a letter of Clayton's to Layard (dated May 11th, 1880)<sup>1</sup> which we quote in full :—

“DEAR SIR HENRY LAYARD,

I take the opportunity of reporting to you the progress and results so far of the excavations being conducted under the superintendence of Dr. Raynolds and myself.

Work was begun on the third of March and has been carried on as regularly as it has been possible to do so, but bad weather has interrupted it on more than one occasion for several days at a time. The rough plans (FIG. 5) I enclose will show the situation of the site of the excavation as regards Van and the part of the site of the ancient city where we have been at work.<sup>2</sup> We have had the accumulated earth and rubbish cleared away from the top of the rock on which the city stood in two places. The more northern excavation was first begun. On the east side solid rock formed the floor of the excavation for some distance, but afterwards a pavement of flagstones was found extending toward the west at the same level, the rock sinking under it. At B a mass of masonry was found below

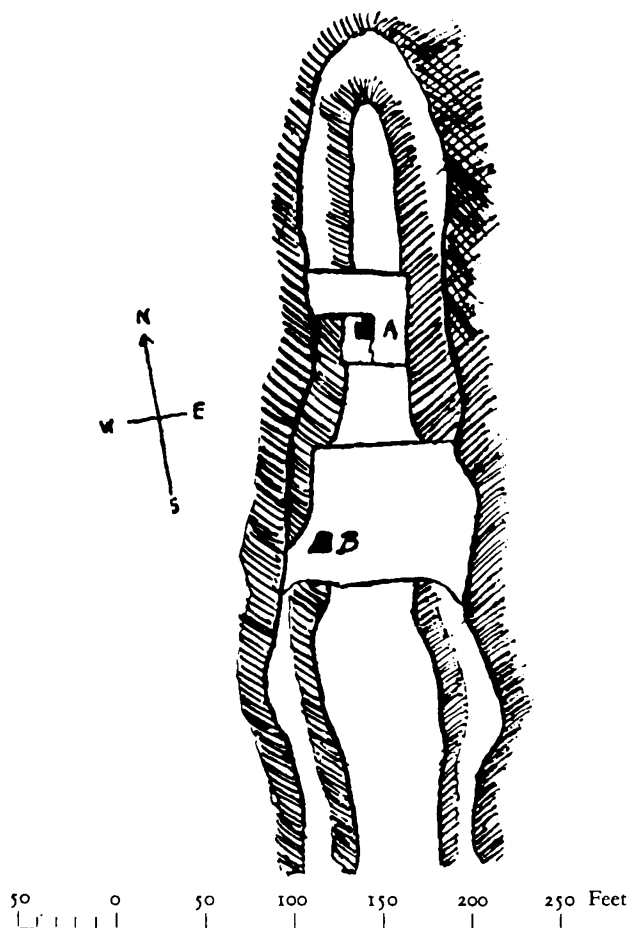


FIG. 5.—Tracing of Clayton's sketch of the site of Toprak Kale, in plan

<sup>1</sup> Layard Papers, Vol. CIII (= B.M. Add. MS. 39033), f. 162. spur of Zimzim Dagh, 60–68 metres broad, 400 long (*Armenien* . . . , II, p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Haupt describes Toprak Kale as a

the level of the pavement, the top of which just rose to the pavement level. It consists of large blocks of stone roughly hewn with the joints bevelled. It extends 4 feet in a north and south direction, is 7 feet in depth to the live rock, but the exact distance it extends from east to west has not yet been ascertained. The ivory objects, Figs. 3 and 4" (HERE FIGS. 6, 7, now B.M. 119447)" were found in this excavation near the level of the pavement together with the other fragments of the figure belonging to 3, and a quantity of other pieces of ivory looking as if they might have formed the part of a shrine. Quantities of fragments of bronze were also found, some of which look as if they might have been portions of armour but very much corroded and broken. Other articles in ivory such as a clenched hand were also found.<sup>1</sup>



FIGS. 6, 7.—Ivory objects found by Clayton :  
 (a) Clayton's fig. 3 : two-thirds real size  
 (b) Clayton's Fig. 4 : real size

From information we received it appears likely that an excavation north of the first would prove productive. We accordingly commenced the excavation at A. Here was found a pavement similar to the former one but sinking in steps to the south. A mass of masonry was also found, consisting of the most perfectly hewn blocks of a sort of trap rock of a dark grey colour, quite different from the stones forming mass of masonry B, which are the ordinary limestone of which the hill is formed. Here are three courses of stones each 1 foot 8 inches high<sup>2</sup>. The extent of this masonry has not yet been shown, nor its exact function, whether part of a wall or an isolated mass such as the platform of an altar. Near the base of this block of masonry were found the objects shown in Figs. 5 and 6" (HERE FIGS. 8, 9). "The fragment Fig. 6<sup>3</sup> seems to have been part of an object of similar form to Fig. 5, which must I think have been a shield, at least I can account for the position of the handles to it in no other supposition. There are many other fragments belonging to

<sup>1</sup> Now B.M. 123889, see below, p.

<sup>2</sup> Rassam, *op. cit.*, p. 378, remarks on the blocks being of well-polished black basalt. Raynolds told Lehmann-Haupt (*Verhandlungen der Berlin Anthropol.*

*Gesell.* (*Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* 1898, p. 582) that the courses were alternately of grey and black stones.

<sup>3</sup> Now B.M. 22481. See below, p. 13.

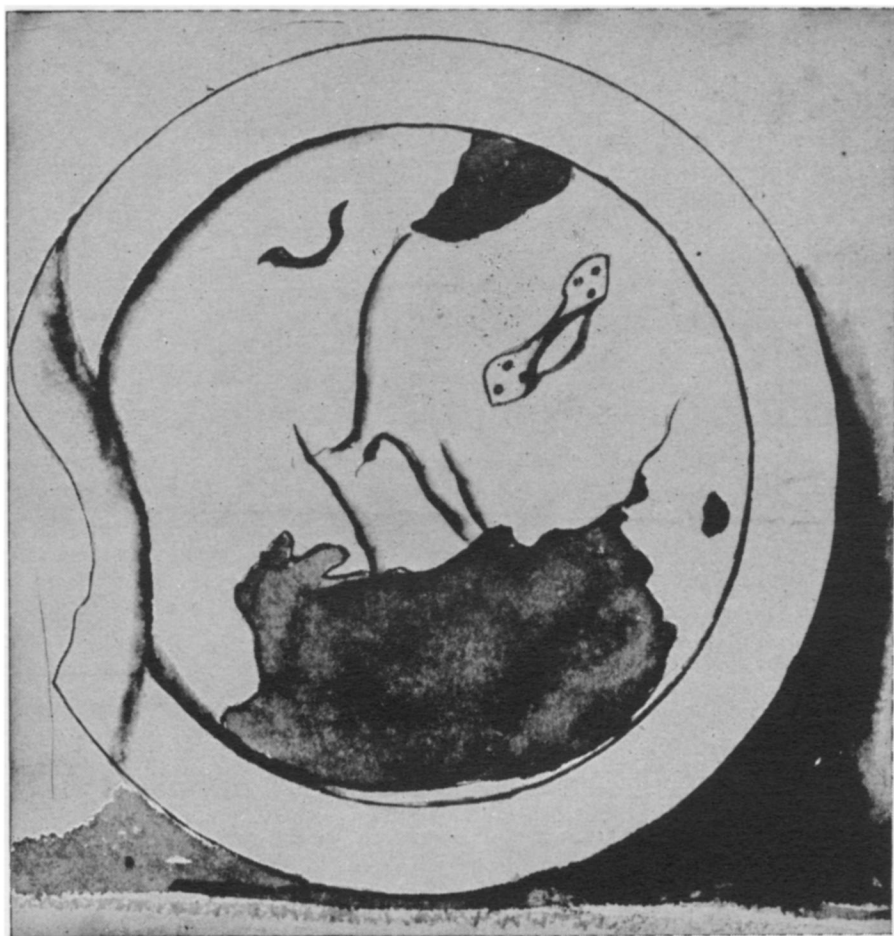


FIG. 8.—Bronze shield, found by Clayton. [Clayton's Fig. 5, one-eighth real size]  
View of inner side

the same object as Fig. 6, making it about three-quarters complete. It has also handles similar to No. 5, the rivets of which can be seen in Fig. 6. The bulls in the centre ring are all exactly similar to the one I have drawn in detail, so I have only indicated their position. The outer ring consists of lions precisely like those in the inner ring, so I have there also only indicated their position. On the outer rim there is a series of cuneiform characters, but they are very much corroded so that I don't know whether they will be all legible. The outer rim is detached from the rest of the fragment but in the sketch I have shown it in its place. On the outside of the rim of Fig. 5<sup>1</sup> there is also a cuneiform inscription in rather better preservation than that on the other shield, but the rest of Fig. 5 seems to be plain, but it is so corroded that I am not certain. Both shields are of bronze. I have great hopes that more objects of interest will be found in this excavation. We

<sup>1</sup> This shield seems never to have been brought home. It is probable that some inscribed fragments

of rim are surviving parts of it ; see below, p. 15, § 6

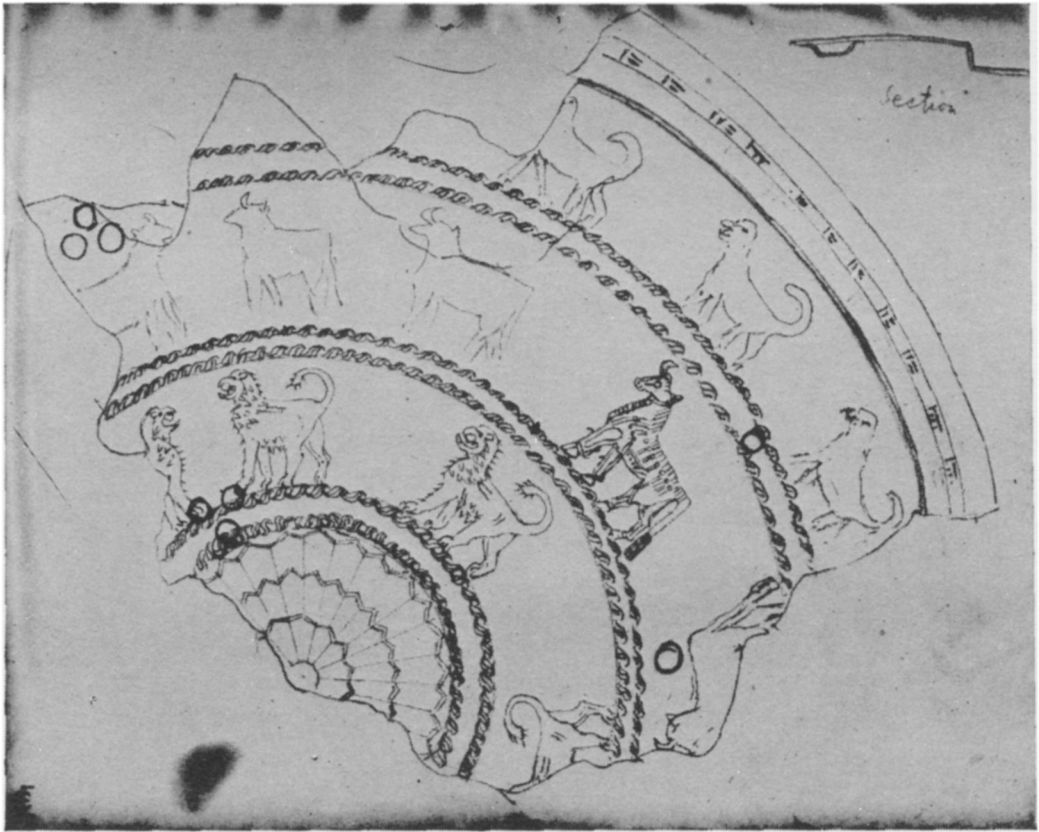


FIG. 9.—Part of engraved and inscribed bronze shield, found by Clayton and Raynolds.  
One-quarter real size. [Clayton's Fig. 6]

have also excavated lower down the slope to the west of the hill but have only discovered portions of wall apparently supporting the platform on which the upper buildings were erected, so we have discontinued work there. We also excavated a little at the foot of the rock on the east side but only found quantities of cinders, broken fragments of coarse pottery and bones, so that we speculated upon these being the kitchens. The bones were not human."

This is the only surviving account worthy of the name of the Museum's excavations at Toprak Kale. Clayton's accompanying sketch of the hill shows the whereabouts of the excavation and is confirmed by the tiny map of Lehmann-Haupt (*Armenien* . . . II, appendix) (Fig. 2), from which equally all details of the temple have been omitted. From a letter of Rassam to Birch (above p. 3, n. 3), already referred to we learn that Rassam made a map of Toprak Kale in which presumably some details of the temple were recorded, and this is evidently the "Plan" to which we are referred on p. 378 of Rassam's book, but which then fails to appear in his text. What in fact

became of this map is unknown. For some strange reason too, Lehmann-Haupt published no plan of the site or its buildings, so that we are thrown back for all our information about them to the photographs of Rassam (his Plate opposite p. 376), Lehmann-Haupt (*Armenien* . . ., II, Figs., pp. 456-460; *Verhandlungen* . . ., 1898, Plate 1), and King (*P.S.B.A.*, 1912, Plate XXV). The description of Lehmann-Haupt,<sup>1</sup> implies that the temple faced South West, with an elaborate mosaic pavement laid down before the entrance covering a width of 20 metres.<sup>2</sup> The photo shows a small rectangular shrine. The temple at Musasir depicted by Sargon at Khorsabad (Fig. 11), suggests that the present one might be also a building *in antis*, but the curious construction beside the doorway at Toprak Kale seen in Rassam's photo seems to forbid this view. The inscribed shields found by Clayton leave no doubt that this was the Temple of the god Haldi, the chief god of the Urartian<sup>3</sup> people, and from the analogy of the temple at Musasir it has been very plausibly conjectured that these shields were hung as ornaments on the walls.<sup>4</sup>

Nothing seems to be known about the construction found by the excavators at B.

There is no space here for a complete catalogue with illustrations of all the pieces found by Clayton and Raynolds; we restrict ourselves to a list of all the bronzes and a selection from the ivories.

1. 22481 Bronze shield, 85.2 centimetres in diameter, ornamented with friezes of embossed and chased figures of lions and bulls (shown Plate X, 1). Inscribed



)--na ŠARRU DAN -NU ŠARRU [al]-su-ni a-lu-si ALU Du-uš-pa

Sayce, *J.R.A.S.*, 1882, p. 656 (middle), appears to have read on this shield a somewhat differently worded text. Lehmann-Haupt, *Z.A.*, 1894, p. 96, corrected Sayce's reading but his own was not complete.

2. 22482 A shield with a cuneiform inscription on the rim, preserved almost complete but "ganz verbogen und zerknittert so dass Theile der Inschriften zwischen den Falten verborgen und dem Augen unzugänglich sind" (Lehmann-Haupt, *loc. cit.*, p. 96). Diameter, 77 centimetres (Plate

<sup>1</sup> *Verhandlungen der B. Anthropol. Gesell. (Zeitsch. f. Ethnol.)*, 1898, p. 582; "Vor dem Tempel, auf dessen Südwest Front, gerade vor seinem Eingangstor."

<sup>2</sup> According to Bossert, *Altanatolien*, p. 89, the area of the temple was 21 × 13.50 m.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann (Haupt), *Z.A.*, 1894, p. 82, declared the correct name of this people to be "Haldians"; but Friedrich, "Chalder oder Urartäer?" in *Z.D.M.G.*, 90, 1936, p. 60 ff., showed this conclusion to be mistaken.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *loc. cit.*, p. 99.



*ILU Hal-di-e BEL-ŠU i-ni a-še (m) Ru-sa-a[-še (m) E-ri-me-]*

To the god Haldis his Lord this shield Rusas son of Erimenas

*-na-hi-ni-še . . . -ni ul-gu-si-ia-ni-e-di-ni*

for his life (?)

*ILU Hal-di -ni-ni[al]-su -i-ši- . . . (m)Ru-sa-a ŠARRU DAN-NU*

to the god Haldis built

Rusas, mighty King

6. There are also four fragments of the rim of a larger shield similarly inscribed :—



(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

*-me-na - hi . . . ni ŠARRU DAN-NU . . . -ia - ni . . . ALU*

This is perhaps part of Clayton's Fig. 5.

7. Part of a rectangular plate pierced in openwork patterns.  
(2.6 by 9.5 by 16.5 centimetres.)
8. 91253 Part of the arm of a piece of furniture in the form of a lion snarling seated on the top of a vertical member modelled as if of reeds or logs laid cross-wise. The ends of the "reeds" were inlaid with white and black paste. The upper part of the vertical member is ornamented with openwork chevrons, doubtless originally inlaid with glass. This member has been violently twisted so that the lion is now at 90 degrees to his original position. The lion's back has been cut into a socket to receive a horizontal beam. Originally gilded, traces of gold still remaining (28 by 5 by 5.6 centimetres). Plate XI, 1-3.
9. 91243 Part of a figure of a male god wearing a long dress ornamented with squares and rosettes<sup>1</sup> and sandals, standing on the back of a kneeling bull or bull-lion<sup>2</sup>, the face of which was of a different substance, probably ivory, fixed with bitumen. Originally gilded. 21 by 11 centimetres. Plate VII, 3.
10. Fragments of a bowl ornamented with friezes of lions, embossed and chased (at present in too fragmentary a state to illustrate).
11. 22492-3 A pair of handles from a large dish, each ornamented at the centre with a head of a roaring lion.

<sup>1</sup> For these patterns see Oppenheim, "The Golden Garments of the Gods," *J.N.E.S.*, VIII, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> This figure standing on the back of a beast in the Hittite manner recalls Sargon's description of the

golden bolts of the Temple of Bagbartu at Musasir, fashioned in the form of the protecting goddesses standing on dogs (Luckenbill, *Annals of Assyria*, II, 173).

12. 91195-8 Four large pins or staples, 17.5 long.  
 13. Part of a bronze belt buckle in openwork with long clasp.  
 14. Small figures of four warriors and a horse (121177).

To these may be added 91209, a large piece, 2.6 by 9.5 by 16, of the same openwork frieze as that acquired by Layard in 1877; this piece, 91209, Clayton did not excavate but purchased from a native (Plate VIII, 1). It shows bulls kneeling before a sort of rosette, perhaps a sun-symbol, which stands above a stylized mountain. The openwork patterns were evidently once inlaid with glass, as a piece survives in the tail of one of the bulls. At the top is an inscription



-ka-du-ni šu-i-ni ni-e-i ki(n)-gu

which is not at present intelligible.

On the back are traces of bitumen by which the frieze was attached to its background.

*Ivories.*—The principal pieces among the ivories are

(a) 119447 Nude female figure, either goddess or worshipper, wearing high headdress and a necklace, with hands raised holding her breasts.<sup>1</sup> 18.2 centimetres high. Plate XIV, 1, 3.

(b) 119447A Small pedestal ornamented with pattern of falling palm leaves. 2.5 centimetres high. Plate XIV, 4.

(c) 123888 Remains of a male figure carved in the round, wearing a fleecy garment usual in Armenia, with a heavy wig of hair in the fashion of the late 8th century B.C. The front view much destroyed. The back unfinished in details of fleecy garment. Plate XIV, 2.

(d) 123884 Remains probably of two beardless heads, probably of eunuchs. Plate XII, 4, 5.

(e) 123870, 123887 Parts of two figures which were composed in a manner hitherto unknown, by attaching to a core of ivory (representing the human body in the manner of a lay figure), clothes made of a different material. We have one lay figure without clothes (123887) (Plate XIII, 1) and one bewigged garment of lead (Plate XIII, 2) which was originally fitted on to a lay figure of ivory. (123870). The arms probably of 123887 are those seen in Plate XII, 3, 5, 8-10.

(f) 123879 Parts of a winged figure(?). Plate XII, 14. 5.3 centimetres wide.

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that the eye-sockets contain traces of blue colouring, plainly suggesting that the Urartians were a blue-eyed race.



(g) Small figure of a roaring lion. Plate XII, 16. 3.2 centimetres by 2.5 centimetres high.

(h) Parts of the muzzle and paws of a roaring lion. Plate XII, 1, 2, 8, 13.

(i) 123889 Clenched fist probably part of a figure. 8 centimetres by 6. Plate XV, 3.

If we take into consideration the large hand mentioned by Clayton, which could well be that of a small cult figure, his suggestion that the masonry at B in which they were found contained a small shrine is not improbable; perhaps it was that of Haldi's consort. Clayton of course was under the impression that the ivories themselves might have formed the shrine. Yet while there is some evidence that small model shrines supported by human figures existed at this period in the Near East, they seem to have been not common<sup>1</sup> and it is more likely that the present figures were either all independent or formed part of a piece of furniture such as a sacred throne.

Rassam arrived at Van on the 29th July, 1880. His comments (pp. 377-8) on Clayton and Reynolds' work add little or nothing to what we have learnt from Clayton. In a letter to Layard, however, he adds the interesting information that the excavations, which he found "disappointing" (an attitude he frequently adopted unless finding tablets, sculptures or inscriptions), had produced 200 pounds of broken and corroded copper belonging to different vessels, "but most of it was so corroded that it would be quite impossible to make any use of it or to distinguish the shape of the article that it was (made?) into." Rassam adds "There have been discovered the fragments of two small figures of Nisroch, one of ivory, the other in baked clay, which I consider very interesting." These are pretty clearly the two figures of winged eagle-headed men with uplifted hands (Plate XV, 1, 2), one of which (118951) is of natural ivory, the other (118953) of ivory stained black by way of contrast; it was perhaps too thickly coated with earth at the time for Rassam to recognise its material.

Rassam describes in revealing language<sup>2</sup> the ruthless whirlwind, lasting a month, with which he followed the work of Clayton, and as his book is scarce, we quote it in full:

"I found, on arriving in Van, that the excavations had been stopped owing to the illness of Dr. Reynolds and the absence of Captain Clayton on duty. I forthwith took steps to resume the explorations on a large scale, as I was pressed for time on account of my researches in Assyria and Babylonia. The mound being narrow and long, I tried it in three different places by digging right through it to see if I could hit upon any ancient structure; but, though I penetrated it from side to side by tunnelling, I could find no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the illustration of one, opp. p. 72 in Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *Til-Barsip* (from a fresco). (915)

<sup>2</sup> *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, p. 378.

indication of any building, but only discovered other shields, some bronze bull's heads, and other small objects. On the southern outskirts of the mound we found the remains of a tessellated pavement of three chambers; but there was not a stone to be seen of the walls. The whole mound seemed to consist of nothing but the débris of some ancient building with an abundant quantity of charcoal mixed up with the rubbish, which showed that the palace or temple, or whatever it might have been, had undergone a tremendous conflagration. The only remains that existed, were the base of the temple at the eastern (*sic*) limit of the mound, with a large platform in front of it paved with limestone (see plan)<sup>1</sup>. We also found on the northern side of the platform a large number of curiously cut stones of black basalt, all of the same style and pattern, heaped one upon the other, which looked to me to represent monumental slabs. I did not think it would be worth the expense to send one of them to the British Museum, especially as they were very bulky and had no inscription on them. We also found a prettily designed laver, or font, made of the same kind of stone."

This naïf document, a masterpiece of *multis verbis nihil dicere*, is of course as much a travesty of what would be expected to-day by way of a report as the *sondages* it describes. In an age before Petrie, Koldewey, Furtwängler or Dörpfeld had introduced system into their respective spheres of excavation, Rassam knew no better, and applied the worst feature of Layard's methods, which the latter had evolved for use in rather different circumstances, viz., following the faces of deeply buried sculptured walls. In this way Rassam must have driven through structures of mud brick the existence of which at his period was not yet recognised. It is tempting to identify his "tessellated pavement" with the mosaic of curiously shaped stones discovered by Lehmann-Haupt in front of the Haldis Temple. But as in at least one instance Rassam gives a demonstrably wrong orientation when he describes the position of the temple, it is hopeless to place any reliance on his statements as to the locations of other architectural features. The "prettily sculptured

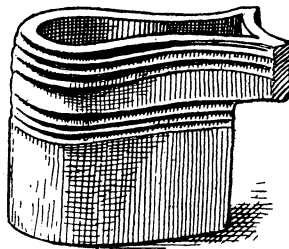


FIG. 10.—Altar from the Temple of Haldis, after Lehmann-Haupt

laver," however, is recognisable in Rassam's photograph standing before the temple. It was still there when Lehmann-Haupt reopened the excavations twenty years later and was taken by him to the museum at Istanbul (Fig. 10).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the plan which is in fact omitted from his text. See above, pp. 3 and 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Verhandlungen der B. Anthropol. Gesell. (Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.)*, 1900, p. 59.

In spite of Rassam's statement to the contrary, he seems to have brought back two of these "curiously cut stones of black basalt" which are now in the British Museum, the rings of black marble and white limestone which belong to them having been later fitted into them. One is illustrated on Plate XVII, 5.

The "bull's heads" can also be identified. They can be seen somewhat indistinctly in Rassam's photograph (*op. cit.*, opp. p. 378). They are in fact a pair, Plate XVI,; (1) 17 centimetres wide by 13.5 high; (2) 12 centimetres wide by 9 centimetres high, being mounted originally each on the centre of a pair of wings in a manner similar to the well-known "handle-figures" of Urartian type.<sup>1</sup> A complete example of a bronze bowl standing on a tripod base recently found at Erzincan,<sup>2</sup> Plate XXII, 1-3, shows how these bull's heads were originally placed on the rim of a bowl, the remaining parts of which Rassam's workmen presumably threw away.

On 8th September Rassam writes to the Trustees a report on the discoveries but adds nothing new except a mention of (presumably bronze) "cups and quivers"—probably an allusion to 7 and 10 in the list of Clayton's finds above. About this time Rassam hurried off from Van, and the excavations reverted to the control of Capt. Clayton. On the 12th December the latter reported to the Trustees that he had stopped the work, as he had found "only a number of large coarse earthenware jars" and "a few fragmentary inscriptions, the largest (being) a half-circular stone, apparently the base of a column."<sup>3</sup>

The following spring Clayton was approached by an Armenian who asserted that he knew where antiquities could be found in the mound of Toprak Kale; Clayton accordingly by arrangement with Rassam somewhat trustingly put him in charge of a small excavation under his own supervision. After a month and a half's work had produced only a few iron spear and arrow heads, the excavations were finally closed,<sup>4</sup> doubtless greatly to the amusement of the local population, on whom the lessons of the comedy of the last twelve months had not been lost.

We quote the criticism of these excavations which Lehmann-Haupt records:<sup>5</sup> "Die Ausgrabungen der Engländer beschränkten sich in der Hauptsache auf Freilegung des wenig umfangreichen Tempels, wobei sehr interessante Funde gemacht wurden, die freilich nur zum allergeringsten Theile nach London und in das Britische Museum gelangten, während das Meiste von den schlecht beaufsichtigten Arbeitern gestohlen und anderweitig verkauft wurde.

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* . . . , II, pp. 488 ff., and Kunze, *Die Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> Bossert, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1194.

<sup>3</sup> This text has not been identified.  
(915)

<sup>4</sup> Letters of 15th April and 31st May, 1880.

<sup>5</sup> *Verhandlungen der B. Anthropol. Gesell.*, 1898 p. 56c. (*Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*)

Abgesehen hiervon liess Rassam noch einige Tunnels in die lehmigen Schuttschichten der anderen Gebäude hineintreiben, die ihm fast gar keine Funde lieferten. Denn einerseits stiess er fast stets auf dicke Lehmmauern, andererseits aber legte er die Tunnels meist auch viel zu hoch an, so dass er garnicht bis auf den Boden der Gebäude gelangte. So gab er diese unfruchtbare Arbeit auf und beendigte seine Thätigkeit hier, ohne auch nur ein einziges der zahlreichen Lehmziegelgebäude auf Toprakkaleh eingehend und vollständig untersucht zu haben. Leider wurde meines Wissens nie irgend ein eingehender Bericht über diese Ausgrabungen veröffentlicht, so dass wir in der Hauptsache auf mündliche Berichte derjenigen Leute angewiesen sind, die bei diesen Arbeiten zugegen oder mitthätig waren."

We are scarcely surprised when, in fact, three years later we find Raynolds writing, with supreme evidently unconscious irony, to Birch:<sup>1</sup> "An Armenian gentlemen here who takes some interest in such things is possessed of a number of articles which seem properly to belong in some public collection and which he is willing to dispose of, if he can do so advantageously. At his request I have agreed to send a description of them to you, and to one or two other public museums to see if any arrangements can be made regarding them."

The first objects he mentions are two fragments of a fossil femur (actually of a fossil elephant) found by sailors at the end of Lake Van. He goes on: "The articles next to be described were found a good many years ago in the hill known as Toprak Kale." Then follows a description of three iron "spear-heads," 19½, 18½ and 17½ inches long respectively (conceivably the finials of the temple, represented by Sargon as used on the roof of the Temple at Musasir) (see Fig. 11). Then he describes in fullest detail and illustrates with sketches two bronzes, the four-footed mythical bird of prey, Plate XVIII, 1, and the figure of a eunuch or royal attendant, Plate XX, both now in the Museum at Berlin. (V.A. 775 and 774.)<sup>2</sup>

It is of course probable that these finds were made in the illicit diggings of 1877, though it is strange that they should have taken seven years to come to light. In any event, Raynolds' next letter<sup>3</sup> is unambiguous.

"Yesterday a working man who has been doing some excavating on his own hook in the vicinity of the trenches Mr. Rassam opened when here,

<sup>1</sup> Raynolds to Birch, 27th Feb., 1884, from Van.

<sup>2</sup> The "griffin," VA 775, had originally inlaid eyes and eyebrows. On its head is a socket to receive another member. One of the forefeet is missing and has been restored. The tail is also missing. Originally covered with gold foil. Height to top, 21.7 cms., width, 28 cms.

The "eunuch," VA 774, wears a long dress, and over it a fleece like that worn by Urartians in sculptures of Sargon at Khorsabad (e.g., Botta,

*Monuments de Ninive*, Plate 119 bis.). He holds in one hand a feather fan, in the other a cloth thrown over his shoulder similar to that carried by Assyrian palace-attendants (e.g., Hall, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum* Plate 31). Height, 37.5 cms., breadth 10.5 cms. The face is of a different substance, of white soft stone. Both figures were cast and then engraved, and originally gilt.

<sup>3</sup> Raynolds to Birch, 20th June, 1884, from Van (Departmental Correspondence)

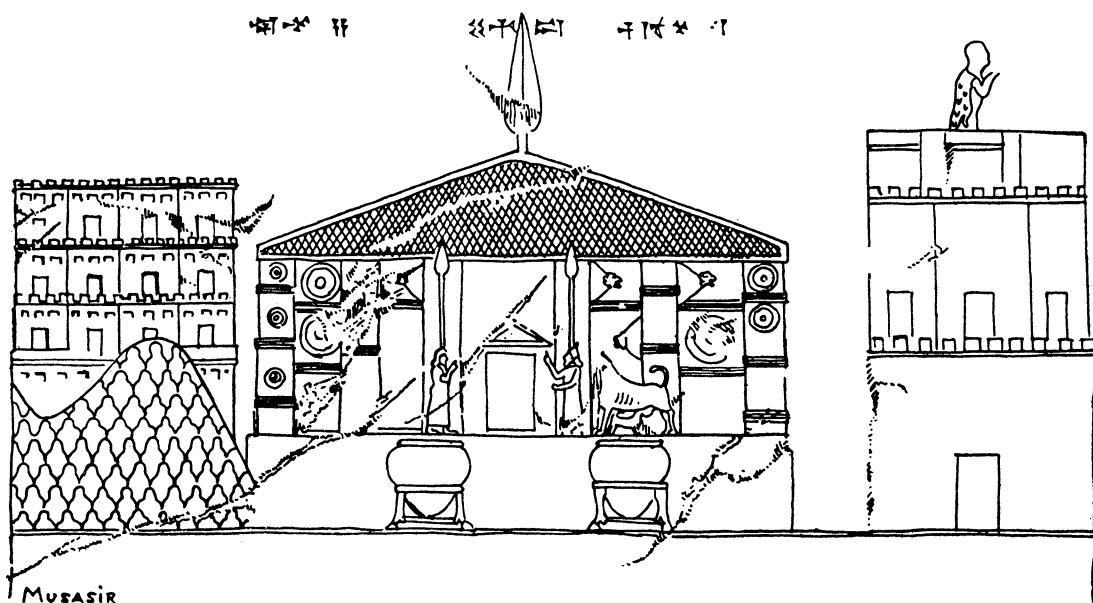


FIG. 11.—Sketch (after Botta) of the Temple of Bagbartu at Musasir (from Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*)

brought a bronze image in very perfect preservation. The body is that of a lion, with wings, but the rest of the body not feathered. To this is added a human head, shoulders and hands, the latter folded in front. The face is ivory. If you received my former letter containing the description and figures of images for sale here, this resembles one there figured but is a little smaller, about 7 inches (17.7 centimetres) long and 5 inches (12.6 centimetres) high.”

A little later he writes that the owner has decided not to sell these objects locally but to take them with him to Europe. Nothing more appears ever to have been heard of the figure last described, which was obviously a duplicate of that in the British Museum, B.M. 91247. Whether or not we should connect the fact with the Armenian gentlemen’s visit to Europe, it is at least noteworthy that a number of other bronzes, obviously from Toprak Kale, make their appearances at this time in several European collections. Thus the Louvre obtained in 1885, ostensibly from Erzerum, a figure of a god<sup>1</sup> standing on a couchant bull-lion which is the exact fellow to the British Museum’s No. 91243 (Plate XVIII, 2). By 1884, M. de Vogüé had also acquired a fine angle piece and foot from a piece of inlaid furniture<sup>2</sup> (Plate

<sup>1</sup> Heuzey, *Les Origines Orientales de l’art* (1891), Plate 9 and p. 234. Height 15 cms., length 14 cms.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l’art dans l’antiquité*, II (1884), p. 725, f. 383. I am allowed to publish the present photographs by courtesy of

M. le Vicomte de Vogüé, to whom my thanks are due; they are also due to M. Parrot and Mme. M.-T. Barrelet, of the Louvre, for assisting me to obtain the photographs.

XIX), closely similar to the British Museum's No. 91251. But the importance of M. de Vogüé's example lay in possessing a winged lion seated in its original place on the corner. M. de Vogüé also obtained a beam with circular cloisons for inlays<sup>1</sup> like those on the piece surmounted by a couchant lion, B.M. 91253. About the same time Countess Uvarova was able to publish<sup>2</sup> (Plate XXI) two fine pieces acquired by her during or before 1886 that were said to have been found in "chance excavations" at Van some years before. The first is a figure of a male god standing on a recumbent bull or bull-lion, counterpart of B.M. 91246 and the Louvre example. It was much covered with rust formation, and as in the other cases, the upper part of the figure and the face of the bull were missing, but traces of gold leaf originally covering it are mentioned. The second figure is that of a winged bull-man, apparently from Countess Uvarova's description similar to B.M. 91247, having folded hands and a face which she took to have been human. But as the face was lost, as no illustration of the front view is given, and as the back of the neck is covered not with a human coiffure but with scales or feathers, one may beg leave to doubt her statement. There is a socket in the back of the neck for attaching it to some object; there are traces of gold leaf on this piece also.

Another piece, unpublished and undescribed, but evidently belonging to the same series as the pieces of furniture just mentioned, is in the collection of the late M. Stoclet at Brussels.<sup>3</sup> Owing however to his recent death, it has been impossible to obtain as yet any information about this piece, in spite of the kind efforts of M. Goossens of the *Musées Royaux du Cinquante-naire*.

To these specimens of bronzework which come certainly, and to the rest which come with hardly any doubt, from Toprak Kale, we must add two more pieces in Berlin: a pillar ornamented with three series of palm leaves<sup>4</sup> (Plate XXII, 5; see p. 29) and a bronze shield<sup>5</sup> (Plate XXII, 4; see p. 33), now made up from seven fragments, having three concentric circles of walking lions and bulls, and bearing an inscription of Rusas, son of Erimenas.

It is likely that these pieces of human or mythical figures were all once parts of one or two pieces of furniture which had been excavated piecemeal over a number of years. The most likely explanation is that they are from

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II, p. 725, fig. 384.

<sup>2</sup> *Katalog Sobranya Drevnostei*, Moscow (1887). Nos. 497 and 498. The height of the first is 8.75 in. That of the second is not stated, but if the photograph is life-size, as it appears, it is 21.5 cms. high × 16.5 cms. wide. Their present whereabouts are unknown to me; but Professor Sir Ellis Minns kindly informs me that he believes all the Uvarov collections were transferred to the Historical Museum

at Moscow.

<sup>3</sup> Thureau-Dangin and others, *Arslan Tash*, p. 130, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur Kultur und zur Herkunft der Chalder, vornehmlich aus den Ausgrabungen auf Toprak Kale bei Van* (*Abh. der Kön. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, N.F. 9, 1907, *ph.-hist. Klasse*, p. 97, No. 36; diam., 2.65 m.)

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, *Armenien* . . ., p. 500; diam. 5 m.

the god's bed or throne or both, and we shall return later to a discussion how they are to be tentatively reconstructed.<sup>1</sup>

Other unauthorised excavations at Toprak Kale took place in the winter of 1889-90, during which "a whole gateway of great archæological interest" was removed, presumably by stone robbers, but whence we are not informed.<sup>2</sup>

In 1898 Lehmann (afterwards Lehmann-Haupt) and Belck led their expedition to Toprak Kale, and we may be permitted for completeness' sake to summarise the results of their efforts.<sup>3</sup> They found the remains of the Haldis Temple by this time almost completely obliterated. However, they excavated down to its foundations, which they found to consist of four courses of massive squared limestone blocks, occasionally mortared together, forming a rectangle 21 metres long by 13½ metres broad. The rock slopes sharply at this point from East to West, so that the foundations are at one point

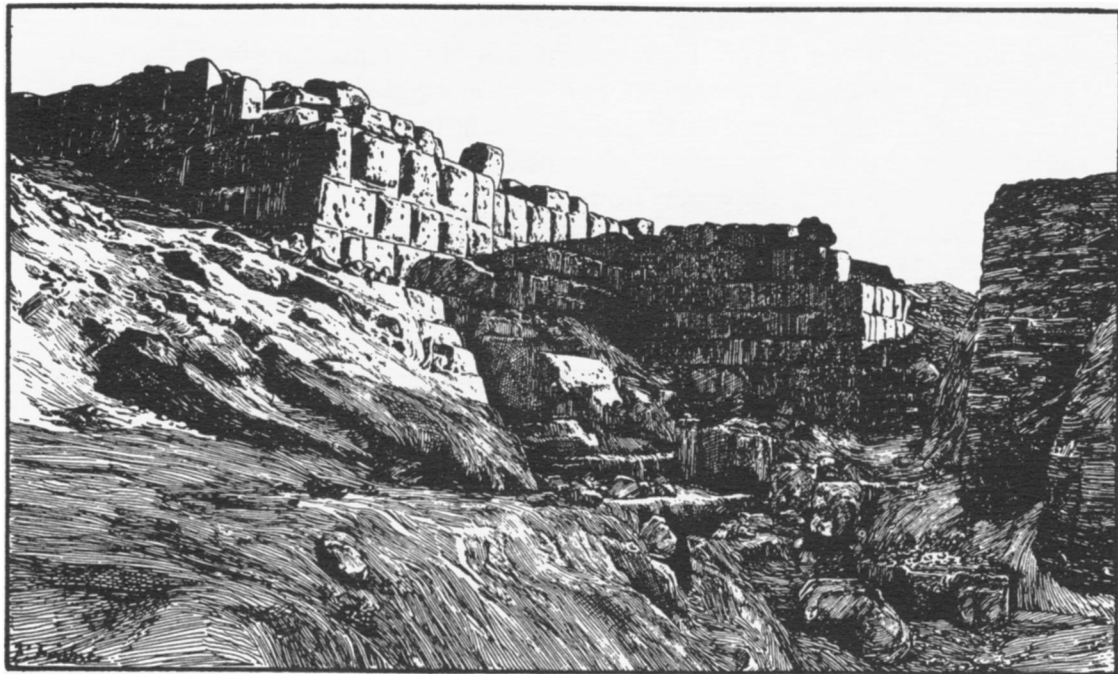


FIG. 12.—View of Toprak Kale, the Temple of Haldis  
(Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* . . . . . II, 2.)

<sup>1</sup> A number of small bronzes, representing winged Siren-like figures with women's heads, also appeared in Europe from the seventies onwards. But owing to their somewhat different character from the pieces above described, and the fact that they cannot be proved to have come from Toprak Kale except for one found by Lehmann-Haupt, discussion of them is here omitted, except for some remarks below, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, II, p. 146.  
(915)

<sup>3</sup> For accounts of these excavations, see Lehmann and Belck, *Verhandlungen der B. Anthropol. Gesell. (Zeitschr. für Ethnol.)*, 1898, Vol. XXX, pp. 588-590, and 1900 *op. cit.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 44-62; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* . . . , II, 1, pp. 453-510; and for a summary, art. *Tuschpa*, by Schachermeyr, in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. A number of objects, mainly of iron and clay, from these excavations were acquired by the British Museum in 1931 from Lehmann-Haupt, see below p. 34.

4½ metres high, at another 1½ metres high. In the centre was a small rectangular foundation probably for the cult statue, 4 metres by 4 metres, going down 1.40 metres to rock. Before the Temple, *i.e.*, on its South West front, the sloping ground was banked up and levelled with a mass of pebbles and earth to make a platform 20 metres broad, covered with a mosaic of concentric white and black cut stone rings and rhomboids. At the North West corner a rock hewn stairway descended to the level of the rock, as can be seen in Fig. 12. The temple was shown on the strength of the inscriptions on the shields to have been probably built in its present form by Rusas III,<sup>1</sup> and finally sacked and burned probably when the Medes under Cyaxares overthrew the Urartian kingdom in the earlier part of the 6th century B.C.

Behind, *i.e.*, to the North of the Temple, was a small mound 4 metres high which contained remains of sun-dried brick. Lehmann-Haupt suggests in one place that these were houses, probably those of the priests<sup>2</sup>; in another that they housed the temple library<sup>3</sup>; or that they represent the remains of the original temple of Rusas I<sup>4</sup>. Opposite the Haldis Temple, at the South West end of the Kale, was a trapezoidal cutting in the rock leading to a vast subterranean chamber reached by 56 steps. It was probably a water cistern apparently supplied with water from a canal that runs from a spring on Zimzim Dağ nearby.

In the middle of the saddle a little to the East were magazines containing 20 to 25 vast pithoi capable of holding 500–600 litres of wine or corn. The centre of the Kale apparently formed an open space or court, but various other buildings existed on the slopes. On the West slope to the South West of the Temple was a terrace enclosed by a neatly built wall close to the rock, containing vast numbers of human<sup>5</sup> and animal bones, which had been tipped over the side from the summit, forming a deposit in 6–7 levels each 30–40 centimetres deep. Among which were fragments of more huge clay pithoi, the rims ornamented with figures of lions attacking bulls executed in high relief (Plate XVII, 1–4). On the East slope adjoining the Wing Magazine was a building in which a fine bronze candelabrum<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 13) and a lamp were found. On the West slope “in the Temple Area” was found a large bronze foot of a throne (Fig. 14), obviously the fellow of the pieces B.M. 91251 (above p. 2) and that in the de Vogüé Collection. Between the Temple and the “charnel house” were found fragments of cuneiform tablets (see below, p. 33).

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Verhandlungen (Zeitschr. Ethnol.)*, 1898, p. 580.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 585.

<sup>4</sup> *Materialien* . . . , p. 69; *Z.A.*, IX, p. 356.

<sup>5</sup> As the human bones did not include skulls, Lehmann-Haupt concluded that these were the

remains of decapitated prisoners of war sacrificed to Haldis, a practice which seems to be referred to in the Haldian inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> Later acquired by the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Ht. 136.5 cm., Bossert, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1179.



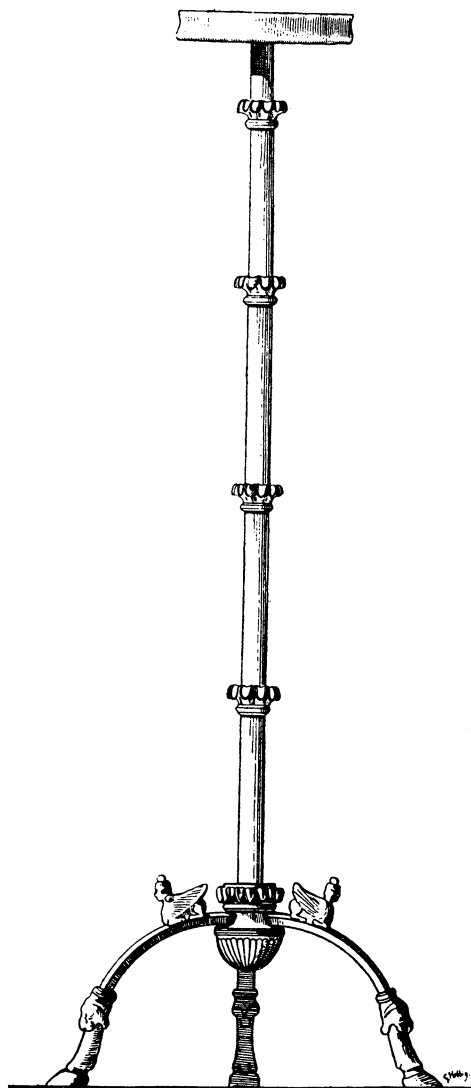


FIG. 13.—Bronze candelabrum found at Toprak Kale

Among the Lehmann-Haupt Expedition's various finds (some of which are further discussed below, p. 33 ff) certainly one of the most important must be some burnt fragments of textile, alleged to be silk (*Armenien* . . . , II, ii, p. 967). This, if correct, must be certainly the earliest evidence in history of contact between China and the West.

Some further excavations at Toprak Kale seem to have been made by a Russian Expedition in 1912,<sup>1</sup> but their only achievement seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Farmakovski in *Materiali po Arkheologii Rusii*, 1912, Vol. 34; see *Armenien* . . . , II, Plate II, p. 750.

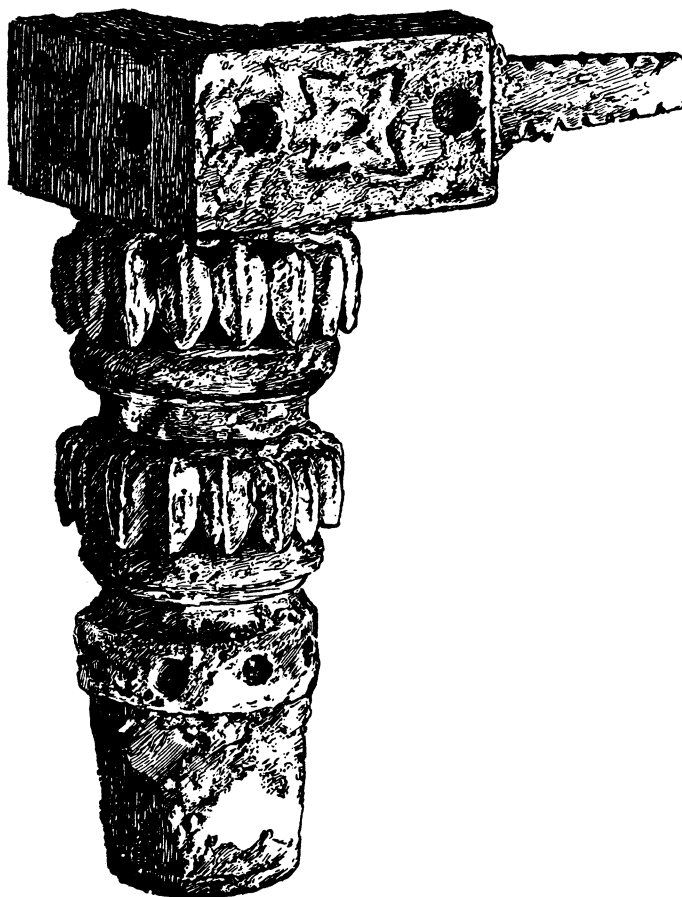


FIG. 14.—Foot of bronze stool, from Toprak Kale

to find several fragments of a red marble frieze, apparently belonging to the Temple, bearing incised designs of bulls, arranged antithetically, lions, grapevines, palmettes and rosettes<sup>1</sup> (Figs. 15, 20 r). No report of this excavation appears to have been published<sup>2</sup>, the frieze being illustrated merely incidentally in an article by Farmakovski.

Thus ended the final chapter of the inglorious history of excavation at Toprak Kale.

\* \* \* \*

The similarity to one another in proportions and technique which several of the bronzes from Toprak Kale bear, as well as their shapes and character has always suggested to modern students that they were parts of a piece or

<sup>1</sup> Farmakovski, *loc. cit.*, Plate XVII and XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> A very brief description of the work done by this expedition will be found in *Zapiski Vostochnago*

*Otdjleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologicheskago Ochschetva*, 1911-12, pp. lxxvii-lxxix.

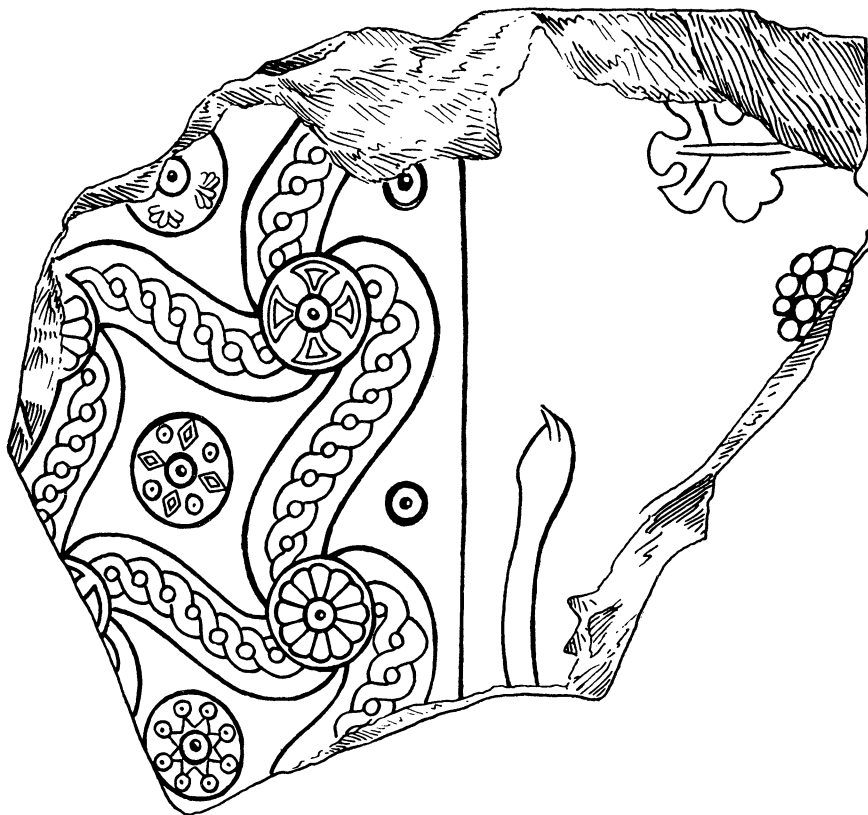


FIG. 15.—Fragment of engraved marble frieze from Toprak Kale

suite of temple furniture. They have not however ever been seriously examined from this point of view. Lehmann-Haupt thought at one time of doing so<sup>1</sup>. Herzfeld wrote about them a stimulating article<sup>2</sup> but spoke only in general terms. The task is in fact far from easy. The data are :

(i) that thrones, beds and their accompanying stools and tables, often of great sumptuousness, formed the essential items in the innermost sanctuaries of the temples of the greater deities in Assyria, Babylonia, Urartu and probably neighbouring countries ; and that the kings in their capacity of chief priests or otherwise sometimes used these or similar apparatus of luxury ;

(ii) that certain of the Toprak Kale pieces (whether actually found there or assumed by us to have been) certainly come from some piece or pieces of furniture.

<sup>1</sup> *Armenien* . . . , II, Appendix, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Khattische und Khaldische Bronzen*, *Janus*,

Vol. I (Lehmann-Haupt Festschrift), 1921.

The evidence on the first head is quite plentiful. We have in the "K" Library the most detailed description of the bed, throne and stool (?) belonging to Marduk and his consort Zarpanit from Babylon (see below). We have to take in connexion with this the famous illustration of Assur-bani-pal and his queen taking their pleasure in the Garden Scene after the defeat of Teumman, he reclining on his decorated bed, she beside him on her throne, perhaps during the celebration of the *akitu*-ritual. We have an excellent illustration<sup>1</sup> of Ninlil on the reliefs at Maltai, seated on a throne supported by semi-divine creatures (Fig. 16)<sup>2</sup>. A similar throne supported by semi-



FIG. 16.—Part of sculptured frieze at Maltai showing Ishtar on her throne

divine figures with upraised arms is used by Tiglathpileser and by Sennacherib at the siege of Lachish (Fig. 17). That the gods of Urartu had also their divine beds is shown by the reference Sargon makes in his annals to his

<sup>1</sup> From an unpublished sketch by C. Hodder in the Egyptian and Assyrian Department, British Museum. Cf. Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien* (*W.D.O.G.*, No. 52), Plates 26, 28, 29.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that the throne at Maltai of

Ishtar differs from that of mortal rulers like Sennacherib in that at Maltai throne and stool are all made in one piece, whereas Sennacherib's consists of two distinct pieces of furniture.



FIG. 17.—Sennacherib  
on his throne at Lachish



( $\frac{1}{1}$ ).

FIG. 18.—Gold disc from Toprak Kale

capture of the bed of the god Haldis at Musasir.<sup>1</sup> An Urartian goddess or queen enthroned is illustrated on a gold disc from Toprak Kale (Fig. 18).<sup>2</sup> Persian kings, following the examples of their Assyrian and doubtless other predecessors, represent themselves either seated on similar thrones or standing on beds the framework of which is upheld by supporting figures.<sup>3</sup> But for reasons which are not quite plain, figures of tributary nations are by them substituted for those of winged bulls and scorpion-men.

The difficulty comes when we try to distribute the surviving fragments between the possible or likely types of furniture. Some are fairly easy to allocate, others less so.

*"Table" or Footed Bowl.*—The column-shaft with palm-leaf decoration (Plate XXII, 5) at Berlin would seem to come from a "table" (actually a vast shallow bowl supported on legs) of the type illustrated by Botta<sup>4</sup> and used in Assyria in the eighth century B.C., in which it forms the central shaft (Fig. 19).

<sup>1</sup> It is described as "1 ivory couch, a repose for his divine majesty, a bed of silver covered with jewels and gold."

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* . . . , II, 1, p. 265; *Materialien* . . . , Fig. 56.

<sup>3</sup> e.g., throne of Darius, Persepolis, and tomb of Xerxes at Naqsh-i-Rustam. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, Plates LXVIII and XXXVII.

<sup>4</sup> *Monuments de Ninive*, Plate 19.

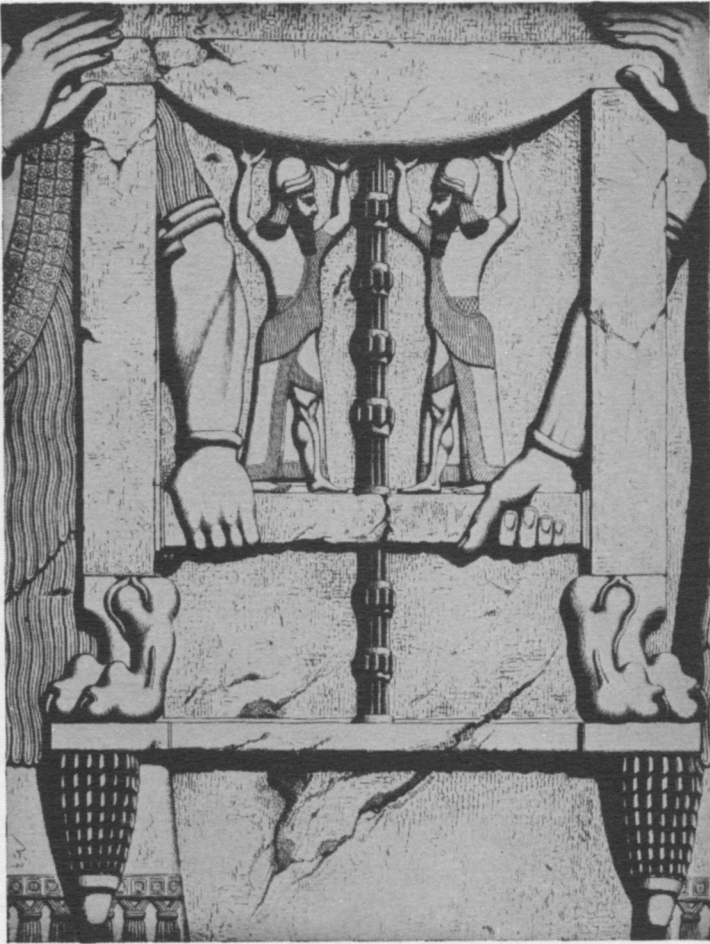


FIG. 19.—Table or Footed Bowl, represented as carried by courtiers on Assyrian sculptures at Khorsabad

*Stool.*—There can be no doubt that the furniture leg in the de Vogüé collection with a seated lion figure and the leg in Berlin found by Lehmann-Haupt (Fig. 14) belong to the same object, which from its dimensions can only be a stool.

*Bed.*—The difficulty now comes in distributing the remaining pieces between bed and throne. Many of the figures of monsters in bronze and ivory could be, as far as we know, equally accommodated in a restoration of either. But there were probably originally four massive feet like B.M. 91164 (Plate III), 19.5 centimetres high (of which two only now survive) to judge from the four strokes on the inside of the B.M. example; and these I am inclined to attribute from their size to a bed. A similar example in bronze from Egypt in Persian style, late 6th century, is 11.2 centimetres high (Plate IV, 1).

We may also note that even the feet of the throne from Nimrud<sup>1</sup> are only 15 centimetres in height. A detail in a fragment of sculpture from Persepolis (B.M. 118847), the foot of which closely resembles that from Toprak Kale, shows how the member might be restored as a whole (Plate IV, 2).

*Throne.*—The height to the seat of the throne from the level of the top of the stool, *i.e.*, the height of a man's calf, must be about 52 centimetres. This added to the height of the stool (30.5) places the seat about  $52 + 30.5 + 15$  centimetres (height of foot) = 97.5 above the ground. This is ample room to accommodate the three figures (which are perhaps all that survive of a set of four figures) of the god on the bull-lion, originally perhaps 27 or 30 centimetres high, while the various monsters, bull-men, griffin, etc., about 21 centimetres high could be fitted in as supports of the god on the bull-lion. The arm I consider to have ended in the lion sitting on the crossed beams, B.M. 91253, which originally was about 42 centimetres high, a suitable height for a chair arm. The de Vogüé beam will then have gone at the rear corner of the seat. The only uncertainty about this arrangement, to my mind, is where on the throne we should place the figures representing the god standing on the back of the bull-lion. This god seems altogether too important a character, if we may judge from similar figures in Anatolia, to be placed below the relatively unimportant bull-women or bull-birds. I have therefore restored it in the drawing, Fig. 22, at a higher level. The Uvarova figure doubtless belongs to the far side of the throne.

The "eunuch" at Berlin and the ivory figures of men in the British Museum (Plates XX, XV) may have been free-standing figures. Alternatively they may have been part of the ornament of bed, throne or table.

*Dating.*—There remains the question of the date to which this material from Toprak Kale is to be assigned. As to this Lehmann-Haupt was rather guarded. The *terminus ante quem* must be the violent destruction by fire of the citadel, and as certain of the fragments of pithoi were said<sup>2</sup> to bear inscriptions in Persian, the destruction must be later than them. Accordingly in 1898 he ascribed this destruction to the Persian invasion *circa* 500 B.C. But the Persian inscriptions when he published them in *Armenien* . . . , II, p. 468, he now admitted were not in Persian script but merely in one like it. <sup>3</sup>He now suggested that the temple was destroyed when the Medes under Cyaxares in 585 B.C. destroyed the buffer state of Urartu and thereby found themselves face to face with the Lydians. The *terminus post quem* is supplied

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated by Bossert, *Altanatolien*, figs. 1181-2, Schäfer-Andrae, Plate 511. It may be doubted strongly whether this piece of furniture as illustrated there is correctly restored, as the sculptures of Assurnazirpal at Nimrud which represent similar

chairs never show them with a lion foot under the frill of palm-leaves.

<sup>2</sup> *Verhandlungen (Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.)*, 1898, p. 587.

<sup>3</sup> *Armenien* . . . , II, ii, p. 686.

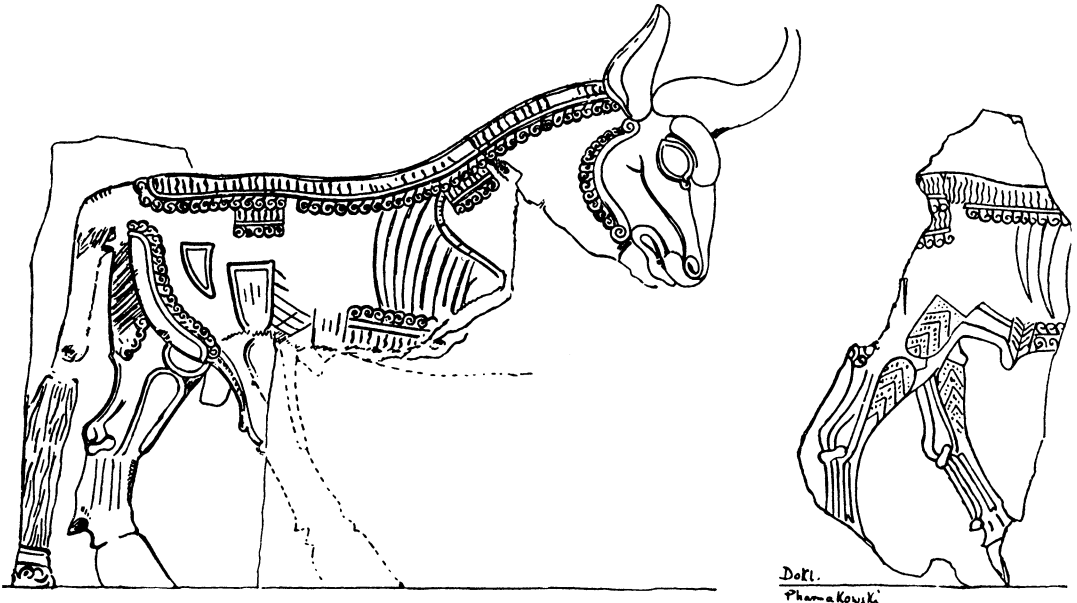


FIG. 20.—Sketch of bull carved on rock at Adelyevas (l.) and fragments of incised marble frieze from Toprak Kale (r.) (Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, Fig. 353)

from historical records of the kings of Urartu. In an inscription<sup>1</sup> found by Lehmann-Haupt at the Keşiş Göl or “Priest’s Lake” to the east of Toprak Kale, Rusas the royal author of the text refers to his work in damming the lake, thereby providing water for vineyards and gardens to flourish in the town (named after himself Rusahina?) evidently Toprak Kale, since that is where the waters lead. But who is this Rusas? The beginning of the inscription,<sup>2</sup> which does not join the remainder exactly but leaves a gap still unfilled, was identified by Lehmann-Haupt in a fragment built into a house in Van. This shows that the text is dedicated by Rusas, also called Uedipris, the son of Sarduris:

“To Teisebas, Lord of the Sanctuary, Rusas, son of Sarduris, who is also called Uedipris, set up this inscription.”

But which Sarduris is meant? There are at least three if not four Urartian kings of the name: I/II, 9th century; II/III, 760–733 B.C.; III/IV, 645–625.

Already in 1912 Thureau-Dangin, in publishing Sargon’s account of his victories over the Urartians, had drawn attention to two passages.<sup>3</sup> In one, Sargon describes a statue of Rusas at Musasir on which was written the

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.*, 1892, p. 141; Sayce, *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 18, no. LXXIX; to be no. 145 in the as yet unfinished C.I.Ch.; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* . . . II, p. 40 ff. But the translation of this inscription is not free from much doubt. See A. Götze,

*Kleinasiens*, p. 183, n. 2.

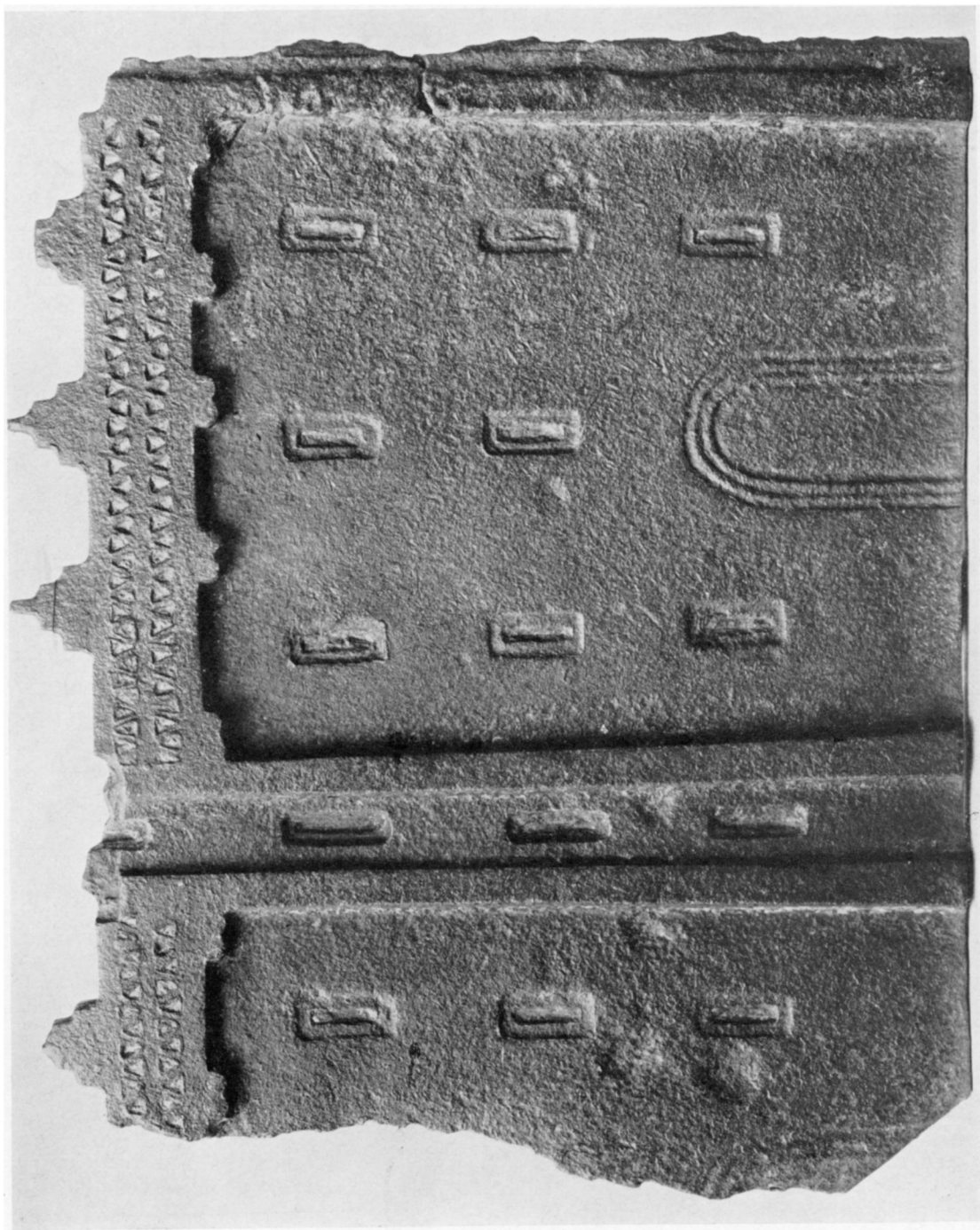
<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Z.A.*, XXIII (1921), *Der Urartäisch chaldäische Herrscherhaus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, p. xviii, n. 2.

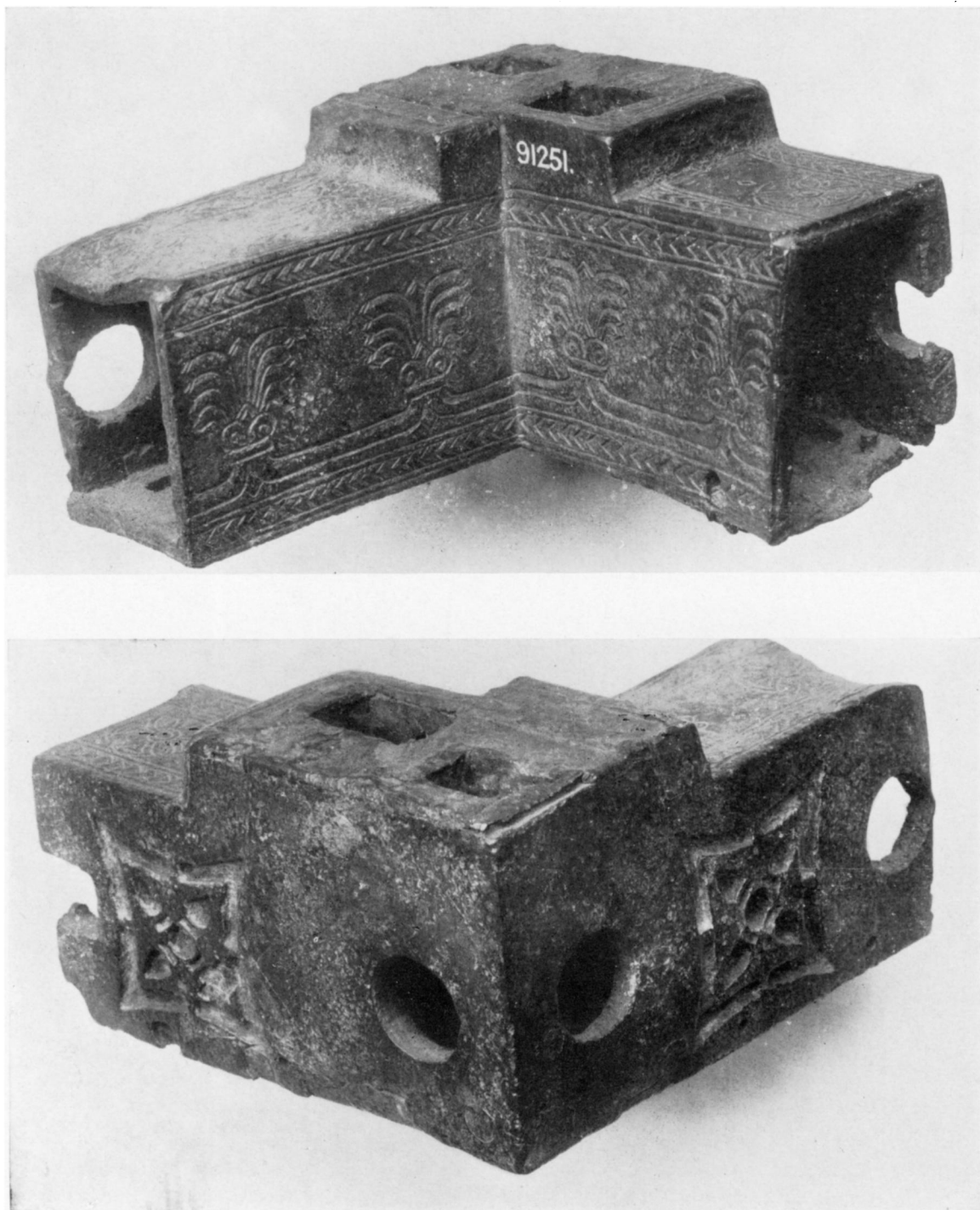




1. Turret probably from 2.  
16.5 cms. high. British  
Museum (p. 5).



2. Part of a model city. Bronze. 30.5 cms. high. British Museum (p. 5).



Corner piece of a throne. Two views (see also pl. IV, 3). Bronze. 8.5 cms. high.  
British Museum (p. 6).



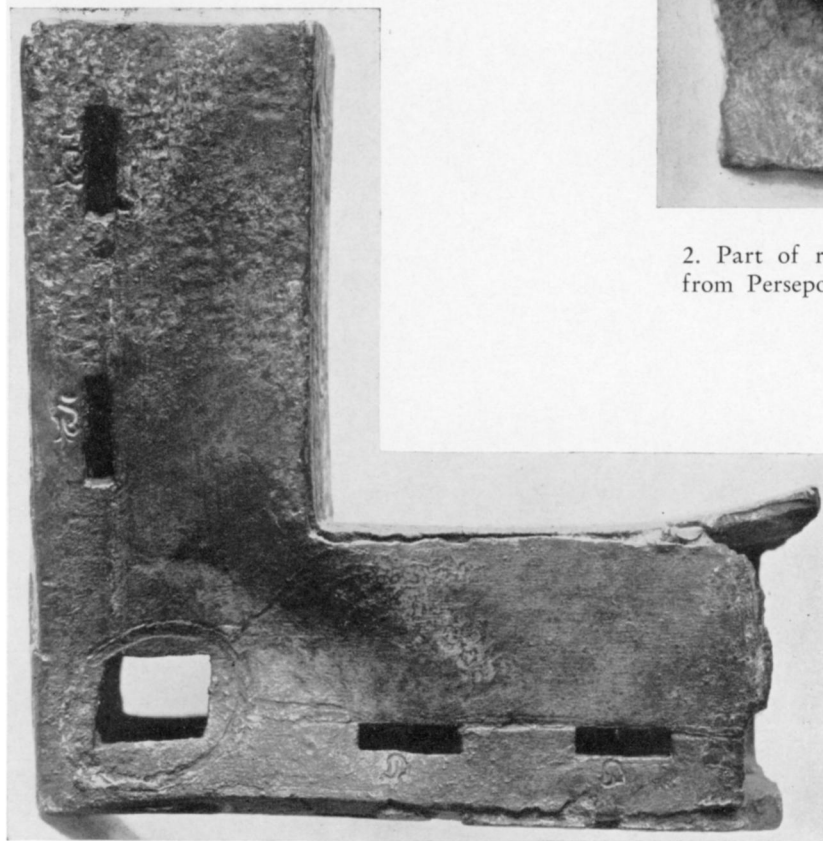
Foot of a piece of furniture. Two views. Bronze. 19.5 cms. high. British Museum (pp. 4, 30).



1. Foot of a throne, from Egypt. Late 6th-Early 5th century B.C. Bronze. 12.2 cms. high. British Museum (p. 30).

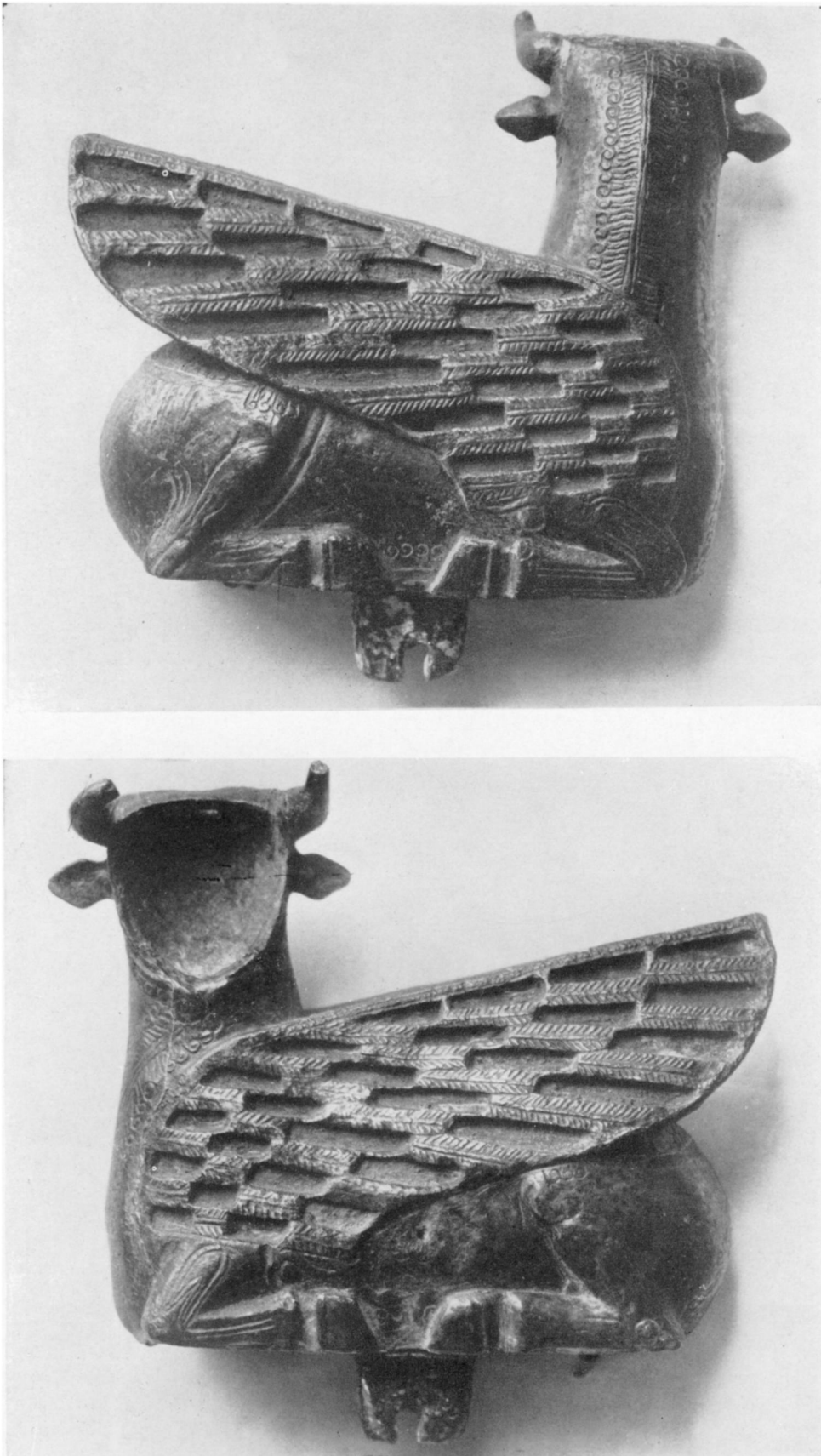


2. Part of relief showing foot of throne, from Persepolis. British Museum. 30 cms. high. (p. 31).

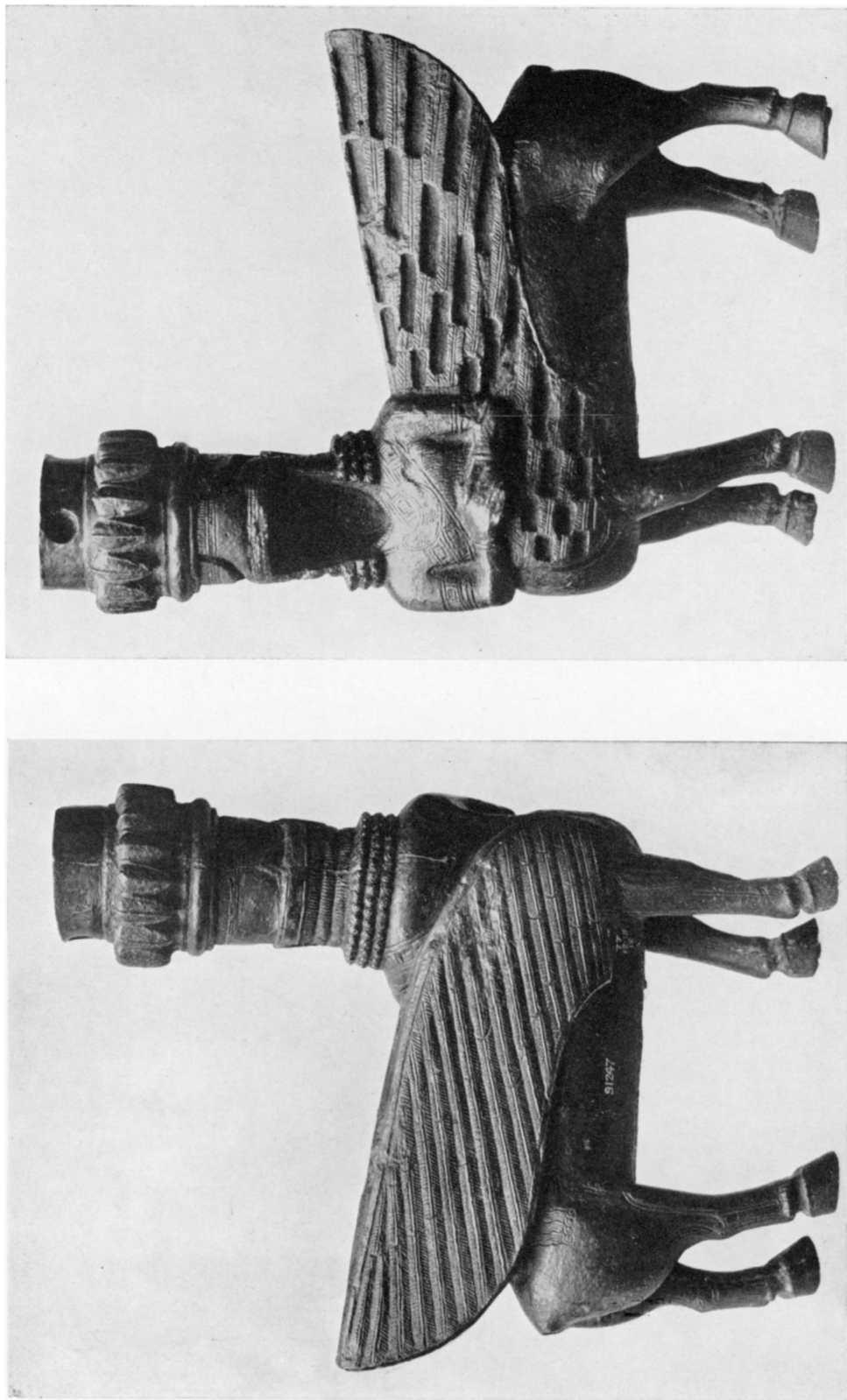


3. Underside of corner-piece, pl. II.





Winged bull or bull-lion. Two views. Bronze. 10.8 cms. high.  
British Museum (p. 6).



Winged bull-woman. Two views. (See pl. VII). Bronze. 20.3 cms. high. British Museum (p. 6).



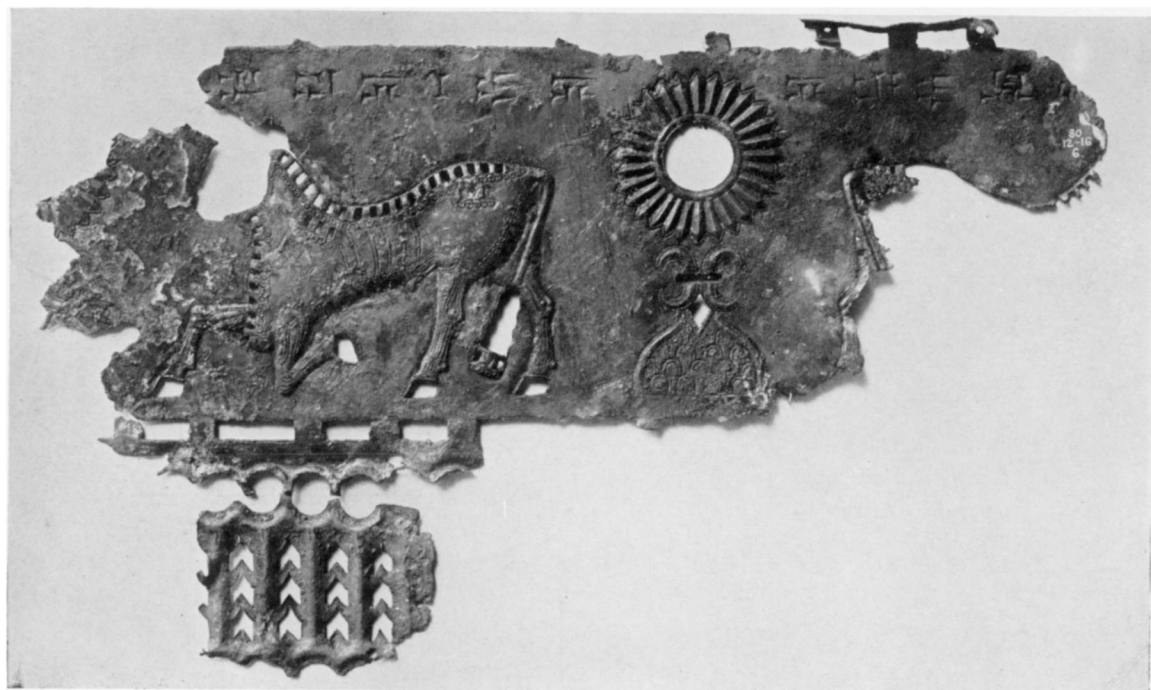
1. Winged bull-woman (see also pl. VI).  
Bronze. 22 cms. high. British Museum  
(p. 6).



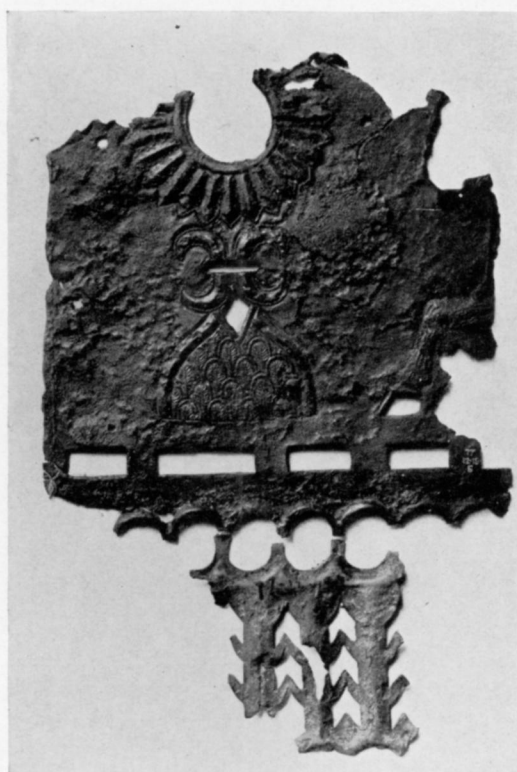
2. Top of capital carried by  
winged bull-woman, show-  
ing hieroglyphs.



3. Figure of a god on a bull-lion. Bronze.  
21.5 cms. high. British Museum (pp. 15, 31).  
A 4



1



2

1, 2. Parts of chased and openwork frieze. 0.24 cms. and 0.14 cms. high.  
Bronze. British Museum (pp. 5, 8, 16).





Bronze shield, incised with lions and bulls. Diam. 75 cms.  
British Museum (p. 13).



1. Bronze shield, incised with lions and bulls. Diam. 85.2 cms.  
British Museum (pp. 11, 13).

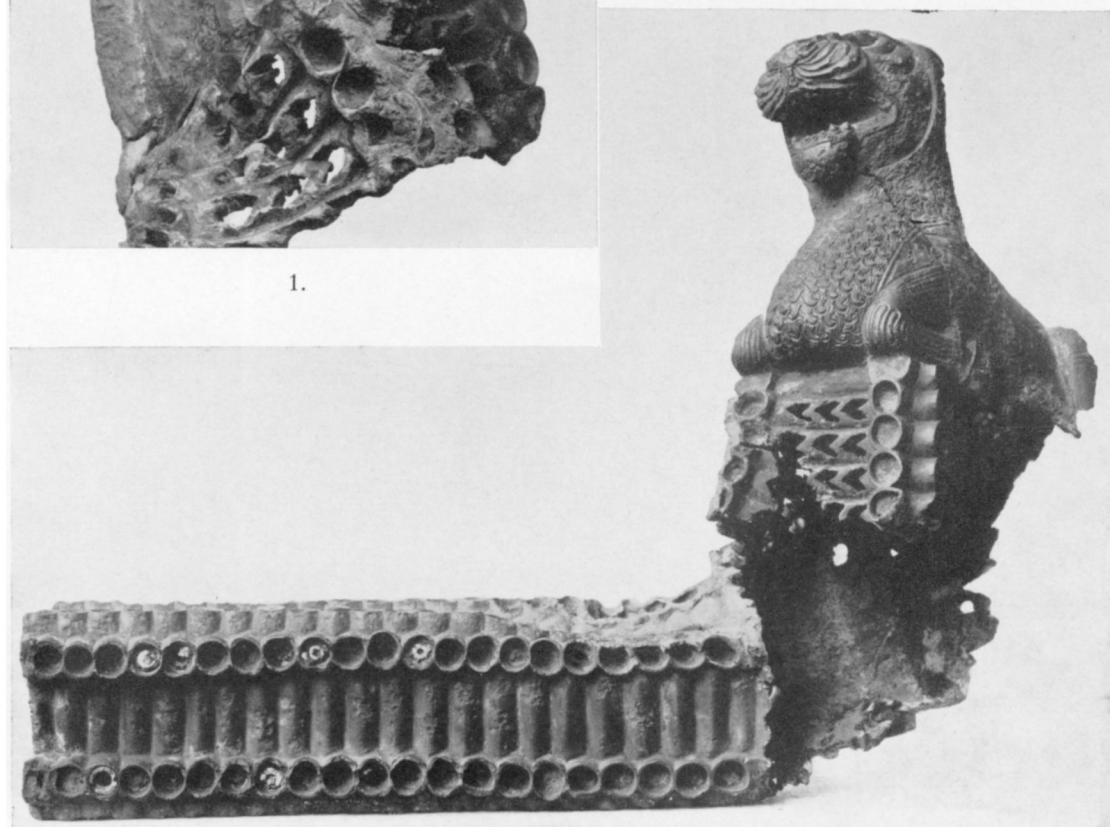




1.

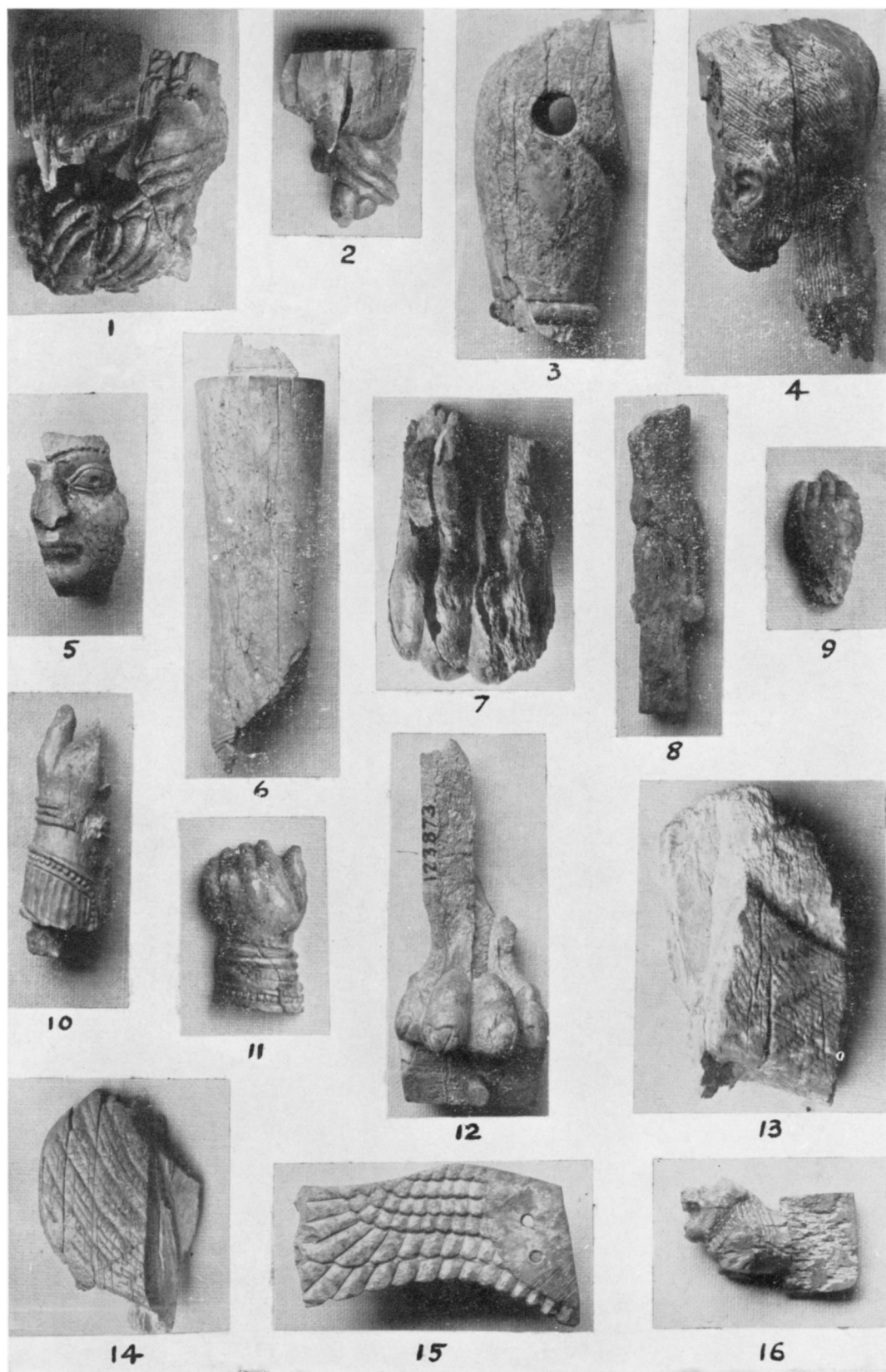


2.



3.

1—3. Arm-rest of a throne with figure of a snarling lion. Bronze. 28 cms. high. British Museum (p. 15).



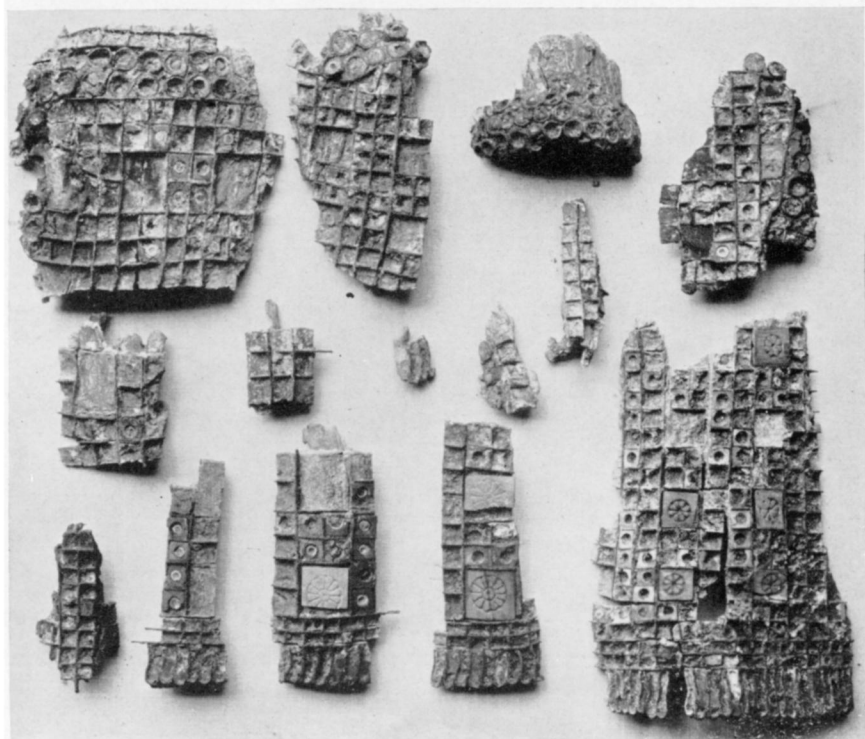
1—2. Fragments of lions' heads. 7, 12. Lions' feet. 3—6, 8—11. Parts of human figures. 13—15. Fragments of winged creatures. 16. Forepart of lion. Ivory. Scale 1 : 1. British Museum (pp. 16, 17).



1



2



3

1, 2. Lay figure. Two views. Ivory. 25.5 cms. high. 3. Fragments of wig and garment, made of lead inlaid with glass paste and ivory squares originally fitted on to an ivory core. Scale 1 : 4. British Museum (p. 16).





1, 3. Nude figure of goddess or votary. Two views. Ivory. 18.2 cms. high. British Museum (pp. 10, 16). 2. Figure of man wearing fleecy garment. Back view. Ivory. 24 cms. high. British Museum (pp. 10, 16). 4. Pedestal belonging to 1, 3. 2.5 cms. high.



1.



2.



3.

1, 2. Two winged human figures with heads of birds of prey. White and black ivory. 17.2 and 11.7 cms. high. British Museum (p. 17). 3. Hand perhaps from a cult figure. Ivory. 4.5 cms. high. British Museum (pp. 10, 17).



1



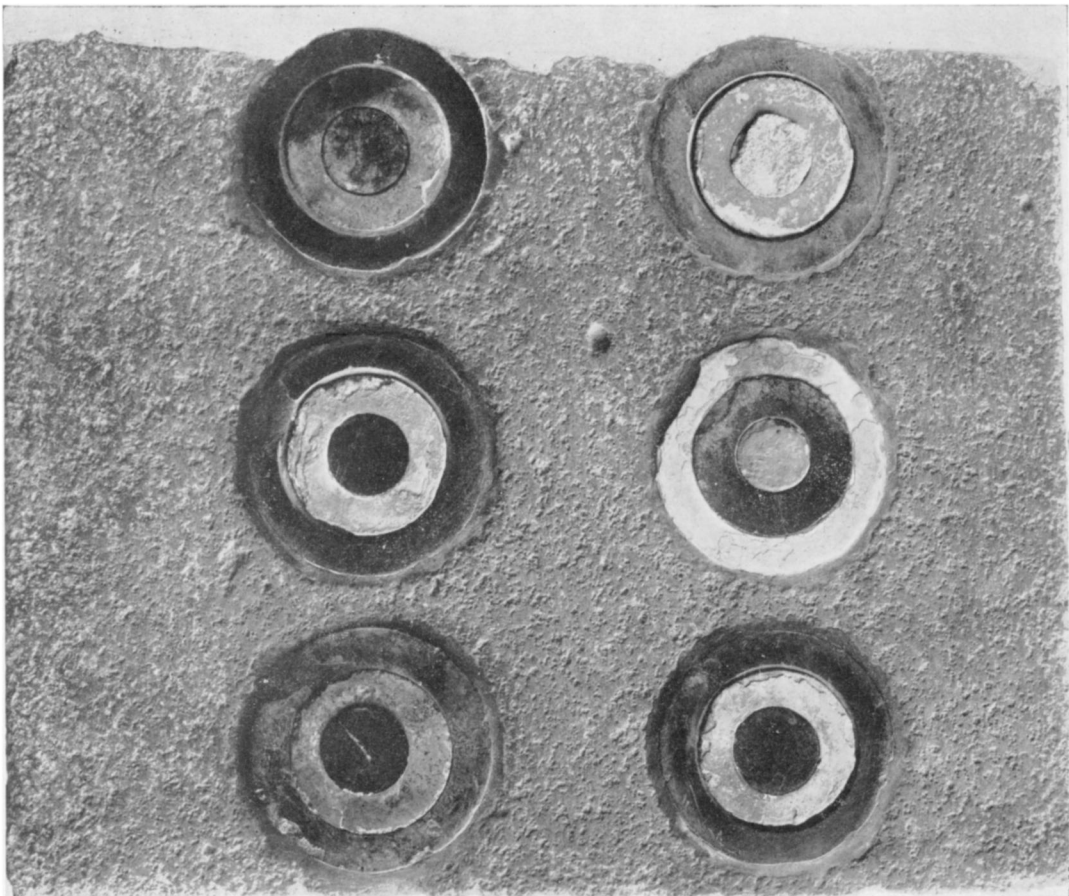
2

1, 2. Two bulls' heads, which originally ornamented a bronze cauldron. Bronze. 14.5 cms. and 10.5 cms. high. British Museum (p. 19).





1, 3, 4. Parts of groups of bulls attacked by lions, originally attached to rims of large clay jars. British Museum (pp. 24, 34). 2. Head of roaring lion, from a clay jar. British Museum. Clay. Scale  $\frac{1}{3}$ .



5. Black basalt slabs inlaid with marble and white limestone rings, from walls (?) of the Temple of Haldis. 27 cms. high. British Museum (pp. 18—19).



1



2



3

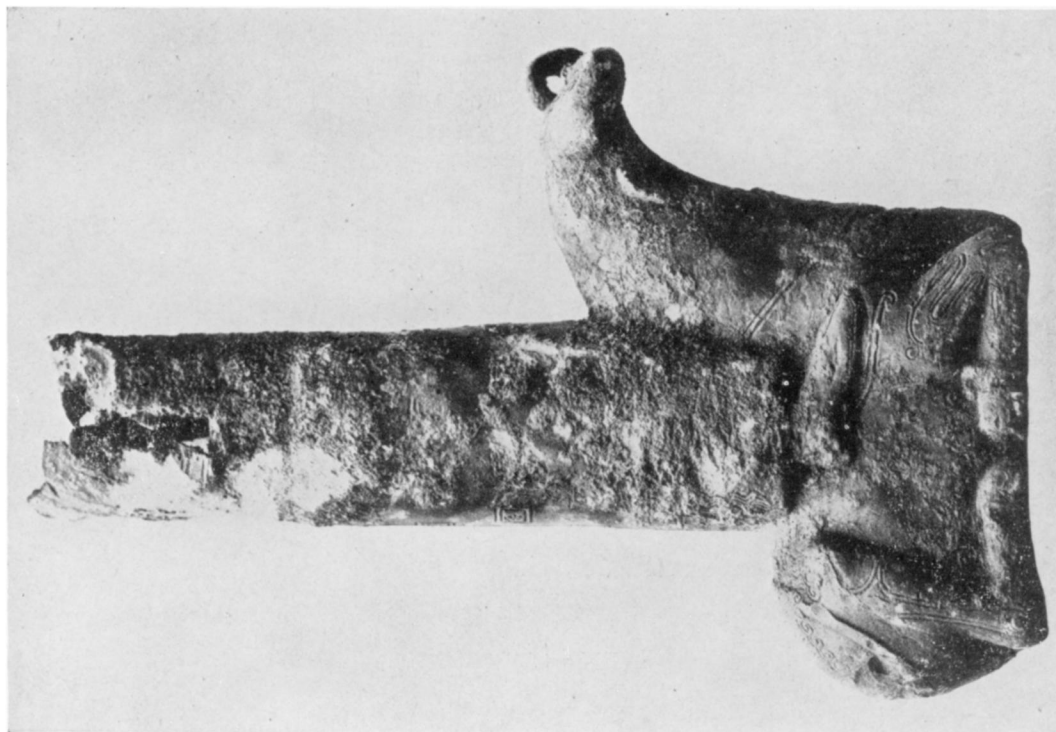
1. Mythical bird of prey. Bronze. 21.2 cms. high. Berlin (p. 20). 2. Figure of a god. Bronze. British Museum. 19.7 cms. high (p. 2). 3. Figure of a god on a lion-bull. Bronze. 15 cms. high. Louvre (p. 21).



1, 2. Leg of Stool ornamented with winged bull-lion. Bronze 46 cms. high. Paris, de Vogüé collection (pp. 21, 31)



Figure of a royal attendant. Bronze. 37.5 cms. high. Berlin (pp. 20— 31).



1. Figure of a god standing on a bull-lion. Bronze. 21.5 cms. high.



2. Figure of a winged creature with bull's body and bird's neck. Bronze. 16.5 cms. high. Both formerly in the Uvarov collection (p. 22).

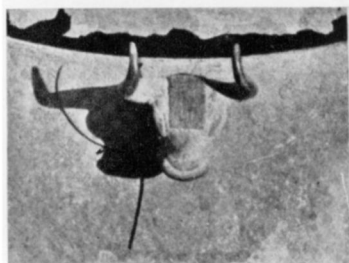




1



5



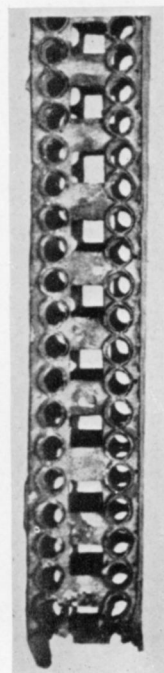
2



3



4



6

1—3. Bronze cauldron and tripod, from Erzincan (p. 9). 4. Part of bronze shield incised with lions and bulls. Diam. 50 cms. Berlin (p. 22). 5. Bronze pillar, from a table. Estimated at 17.5 cms. high. Berlin (pp. 22, 29). 6. Part of a throne. Bronze. 31 cms. high. Paris, Marquis de Vogüé's collection (p. 22).

epigram: "With my two horses and my charioteer my hands conquered the kingdom of Urartu." This, Thureau-Dangin considered, meant that Rusas (or Ursa as Sargon calls him) was a usurper who founded a new dynasty; he identified him with Rusas son of Erimenas, the dedicator of our shields. In the other passage Sargon tells us that Rusas' family came from the province of Armarili west of Lake Van:

"Arbu, city of the family of Ursa, and Riar, city of the family of Sardur. Seven cities in the neighbourhood, where his brothers, who were of his royal blood, lived which were strongly defended, these cities I destroyed and levelled with the ground."

Lehmann-Haupt<sup>1</sup> wished to meet the difficulties presented by these passages by supposing that Sarduris the father of Rusas was not the great Sarduris (c. 760-733), well known to Sargon, (although he would be the obvious person all contemporaries would understand on hearing mentioned "Rusas son of Sarduris"!) but that he was some other Sarduris, a lesser but hitherto unknown member of the royal house. This is absurd, and the reference to Sardur's or possibly Rusas' royal blood shows he could not have been at all far from the main succession. If the epigram quoted by Sargon means anything of the sort Lehmann-Haupt supposed, it implies no more than that Rusas, son of Sardur the great was not the eldest son, but seized the throne out of his turn. He can hardly have been any but Rusas I (c. 733-714 B.C.), son of Sarduris II/III.

Thus Toprak Kale (or Rusahina?) may have been founded by Rusas I Sardurhini (c. 733-714) and probably its temple too. It is very much to be regretted that the inscription found there by Clayton, see above, p. 10, cannot be certainly identified, as it might well have added information on this point. The second Rusas (c. 680-645), son of Argistis by dedicating a shield<sup>2</sup> gives us the first certain date for the contents of the temple. Rusas III son of Erimenas (c. 600 B.C.?) finally dedicated the inscribed shields in London and Berlin.

The remaining objects from the site have to be dated on internal evidence, and within the limits 734-585 B.C. prescribed by the external or historical framework. We shall now examine them as far as the incomplete state of their publication allows.

### *Cuneiform Tablets<sup>3</sup>*

These include a letter to Rusas II from Sagastaras, a king of a northern

<sup>1</sup> Z.A., XXXIII, p. 42-3.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 7. It is important to note that greater knowledge of the Urartian language has removed a misconception affecting the date of foundation of the Haldi Temple. It is now seen that the words on the shields *ini aše* (see above,

pp. 6, 7) do not mean as Lehmann-Haupt believed (Z.A., 1894) "(sc. built) this temple" but "(sc. dedicated) this shield." See Friedrich, *A.f.O.* IV, p. 56, and *M.V.A.G.* 38, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Materialien* . . ., p. 105.

vassal state, and some contracts bearing a seal impression showing a sacred cart, a priest and a griffin, inscribed (*m*)[*Ru*]-*sa-ni*.

### *Pottery.*

Lehmann-Haupt<sup>1</sup> describes the following types :

(a) Clay lamp in form of a bowl with a sort of vertical wall towards the centre.

(b) Round-bellied jug with strap handle, tall neck with slightly pinched lip, of polished gray ware.

(c) Cup with high lip, swelling shoulder and flat foot (broken), also of polished gray ware, but lighter in colour.

(d) Large vase with crudely painted birds on yellowish clay background.

(e) Red-polished ware : open bowl, often with inscription in hieroglyphics or potter's mark.

(f) One handled jug, 14.5 centimetres broad, with incised pattern, also of red polished ware.

(g) Parts of huge jars, the rims decorated with figures in high relief of lions attacking bulls. Plate XVII 1-4.

None of these can as yet be dated, as there have been too few excavations in this region. At Kalecik, however, 5 kilometres north of Van, Kirsopp Lake<sup>2</sup> found in his uppermost level (Level I) red-polished ware, a hand-made black polished ware, and a painted yellow-brown ware closely resembling Phrygian ware. In the Lower City of Van itself he found red-polished and yellow-brown ware "characteristic of the Urartian occupation." On the north slope of the city was found painted ware similar to that from Kalecik. This does no more than suggest for the red-polished ware (e) above a date contemporary with Phrygian, *i.e.*, about the seventh century B.C.

The tall gray ware cup, however, from Toprak Kale, (c) above, has affinities with pots of early Iron Age from Siyalk near Nihavand,<sup>3</sup> from Solduz,<sup>4</sup> South West of Lake Urmia, and from Tepe Giyan.<sup>5</sup>

### *Metal.*

The gold and silver work is described in great detail by Lehmann-Haupt,<sup>6</sup> but bears no internal proofs of date.

*Iron.*—A considerable number of lanceheads were found (some from Lehmann-Haupt's excavation are in the British Museum) with flat long blade, small collar and long tang to which the closest parallel seems to be from the Phrygian level at Alishar (7th century B.C.)<sup>7</sup>. A rough adze with "Schaft-lappen" is also illustrated by Przeworski, to which he adduces parallels from

<sup>1</sup> *Materialien* . . ., p. 104, 110 ff., 116; *Armenien* . . ., II, p. 563 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Otto, *Die Amerikanischen Ausgrabungen am Burgfelsen von Van*, A.f.O. XIV, 1941-44, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Ghirshman, *Siyalk*, Plate xliii, S. 523A; and Plate IV, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Stein, *Old Routes of Ancient Iran*, Plate xxiv, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Contenau and Ghirshman, *Tepe Giyan*, Plate 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Materialien* . . ., pp. 84-92.

<sup>7</sup> c1199 and c1162, von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük*, 1930-32 Season, Pt. II, fig. 502.



a cemetery at Ab-i-Zal in Persia, ascribed to the 8th century B.C.<sup>1</sup> A bundle of twenty or more arrow heads and a socketed hammer are also mentioned. A large knife and a hay fork are also illustrated by Lehmann-Haupt<sup>2</sup> but cannot be closely dated.

*Bronze.*—The remarkable bronze bowl<sup>3</sup> is thought by Przeworski to be an import from Anatolia. He has been naturally influenced by the two incised hieroglyphs on its rim, which much resemble Hittite hieroglyphs. Only one of them, however, occurs in the Hittite system, and as the existence of an Urartian system is now well attested, this argument disappears. Przeworski compares this bowl to that found at Kerkenes Dağ in Central Turkey,<sup>4</sup> but in fact it resembles it and others of Assyrian type only in having a fluted base, a feature excessively common in ancient Oriental metalwork later than Sumerian times. What is distinctive about it is its vertical lip, and the double outline at the top of its broad flutes which makes them look like fingers. Neo-Hittite sculptors of Northern Syria seem to have been so much influenced by this idea that when representing some such bowls in stone, they actually represent the flutes as fingers.<sup>5</sup> We may attribute their work to the 8th century B.C.

The remaining bronzes<sup>6</sup> from Toprak Kale are very closely modelled on Assyrian art. It is legitimate to try to date them by comparison with the works of the masters which they are endeavouring to copy with such fidelity. Of course the conservatism and frequent archaism of Assyrian artists makes it necessary for some caution. The appearance or non-appearance of this or that motif is not a very good argument, as our knowledge of Assyrian art is imperfect. But the treatment of the motifs is a different matter. The Assyrian craftsmen indulged their fancy in different ways at different times when handling an identical subject.

The corner piece of a stool (Plate II), has on its inner face a design of palmettes, the form of which is closest to that on some ivory plaques of Assyrian style, B.M. 118101,<sup>7</sup> (which I believe to be of the time of Sargon) or to a similar design on a glazed vase from Assur which Andrae dates

<sup>1</sup> Przeworski, *Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens*, 139; Godard, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Materialien* . . . , fig. 7, 2; *Armenien* . . . , II, II, p. 507, fig. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien* . . . , fig. 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, Plate X, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Carchemish*, II, Plate A 16 e; Bossert, *Altanatolien* fig. 966 illustrates one from Assur.

<sup>6</sup> Przeworski illustrates a "sacrificial car" said by Lehmann-Haupt (*Materialien* . . . , p. 93, n. 3) to be from Toprak Kale, preserved in a nearby monastery. A similar object, apparently a movable

hearth, was found at Tell Halaf (Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, Plate 58) and may be of the 9th century. Similar objects were also used in Assyrian palaces, (see *Orientalia*, XIX, 1948, p. 511, review of Bulle, *Geleisestrassen des Altertums in Sitzungsber. der Bayr. Akad. Wiss. ph. hist. kl.*, 1947. Przeworski also describes a sleeved axe with figures of a lion and dogs (B.M. 123269) as being from Toprak Kale, but there is no proof of this. It was found "near Van." (Greenwell, *Archaeologia*, vol. 58, p. 9.)

<sup>7</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 730; Schäfer-Andrae, *op. cit.*, Plate 495.

(probably too early) to the time of Tiglath pileser III<sup>1</sup>. On its outer face the bracket has a four-cornered motif known from frescoes at Nimrud of the time of Adad-Nirari III (810–783)<sup>2</sup> and at Tell Ahmar<sup>3</sup> of the time of Sargon. It also seems to have been used in the subterranean rock cut chambers of Argistis I (785–760 B.C.) in the citadel of Van.<sup>4</sup>

The inlaid bed-foot (Plate III) bears a particularly fine figure of a winged disc. This motif has been repeatedly studied yet it is not possible exactly to date the present example.<sup>5</sup> Its distinctive features are a large central disc, broad wings with a horizontal top line, on which lie double antennae as if of an insect, and a long tail, from which depend two streamers. All these occur as early as the 9th century, *e.g.*, in the seal of Mušeš-Ninurta (Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Plate XXXIIIa), save that there the disc contains the figure of Assur.

The inlaid circles on the knuckles of the bed-foot (Plate III), recur on a small stone foot of furniture, B.M. 91575. This reflects star-shaped patterns of hair on the claws of bull-men figures from the palace of Assur-nasir-pal at Nimrud (9th century).

We turn to the animal and human figures. The seated bull (Plate V), the lion in the de Vogüé collection, the figures standing on lion-headed bulls and the female figure of *lamassu* (Plate VI), are clearly all by the same vigorous hand, and show the same hall-marks in identical treatment of stylised musculature, hair or feathers. The types of winged griffin, winged bull-lion and god on bull-lion are not common enough in Assyrian art to make comparison easy.<sup>6</sup> But for the *lamassu* it is easy. The spreading wig of tight curls, the short stocky legs, the elongated body with bulging chest, the immensely long and straight wing with coloured inlays are all paralleled in the fresco of a bull-man at Tell Ahmar, passage XXIV–XXV<sup>7</sup>, again of the time of Sargon. Her wing also resembles that of the miniature female *lamassu* discovered at Kuyunjik, now B.M. 90954.<sup>8</sup> On all three the root of the wing is set as far down as possible, covering the whole side of the chest with feathers.

The Erlangen tripod and the “eunuch” figure in Berlin also closely resemble Assyrian sculpture of the time of Sargon or later. They have the

<sup>1</sup> *Farbige Keramik aus Assur*, 32, Plate 33.

<sup>2</sup> From the Upper Chambers, Nimrud, Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*.

<sup>3</sup> Thureau Dangin and others, *Til Barsip*, Plate XLVII. The authors consider these paintings of the “first style” to be of the time of Tiglath pileser III, but for several reasons I think this dating too high, and believe they are of the time of Sargon.

<sup>4</sup> Bossert, *Altanatolien*, fig. 1156; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien* . . . , II, 1, fig., p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Roes, *Het Symbol der geflügelde Zon in Voorazje*, Jaarbericht EOL, XVIII; B. Perring, *Die Geflügelte*

*Scheibe in Assyrien*, *A.f.O.*, VII; M. Werbrouck, *A propos du disque ailé*, *Chronique d’Egypte*, July 1944. See also van Buren, *Cylinder Seals in the Biblical Pontifical Institute*, No. 82.

<sup>6</sup> A similar griffin with belching mouth is seen mounted by a bearded god holding an axe and other weapons, Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXII d, ascribed to the 9th century, B.C.

<sup>7</sup> Thureau Dangin and others, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII.

<sup>8</sup> George Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*. Not from Nimrud, as asserted in Schäfer-Andrac, pl. 545.

same wig with spreading curls. The palmette the "eunuch" holds is exactly like that on the bracket or piece of furniture (Plate II) mentioned above; and the "bowl" on which the Erlangen figure stands resembles that of the female *lamassu* from Kuyunjik.

The lion on the arm-rest resembles the lion-bull supporting the standing god (Plate VII, 3), but is slightly different from the de Vogüé lion, as far as can be seen from the illustrations. Unlike the latter he has a woolly chest. The areas of hair and muscle are outlined with the usual double lines, but a curious detail is that on the shoulder they are interrupted for three small objects resembling feathers to be added. The top of the head is composed of two sloping planes which meet like the gable of a roof. This has a parallel only on a lion from Sakca-Gözü (late 8th century) and Zincirli.<sup>1</sup> The wrinkling of the nose above the snarling jaws is reduced boldly to a stylised step-pattern in a manner quite unusual in Assyrian and Babylonian art, though there is a resemblance to it in the square treatment of the nose of the Persian lion at Persepolis, Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, Plate LXII.

#### *Summary*

All this evidence points mainly in one direction. It suggests that most of the shrine's contents except the red-polished ware, such of the iron objects as can be dated, and the bronze shields, belong to the end of the eighth century B.C.

#### *The Art of Urartu.*

The material from Toprak Kale is our only real source of information and reliable illustration of the art of ancient Urartu.<sup>2</sup> There are several other objects from other places in various collections which can be recognised as Urartian to-day, but if so it is thanks to comparison with the material from Toprak Kale. It is not possible to review here in detail the material from other sites. I hope to attempt this task at some future date. It would however be unjust to leave the collection from Toprak Kale without making some attempt, however slight, to discuss its place in the history of the art of the ancient Near East. The extraordinary full account which Sargon gives of the treasures of Musasir—far too long to quote—attests both to the unusual proficiency that the Urartians had reached in all branches of the arts of metal-working (even to the casting of life size statues and groups) and also to the astonishment which they evoked in the minds of the victorious Assyrians. Yet how long the Urartians had been in reaching this pitch of skill is quite unknown. The original sources and inspirations of their art are unfortunately

<sup>1</sup> Akurgal, *Späthethitische Kunst*, Plates XXVII–XXX.

<sup>2</sup> *A. J. A.*, liii (1949), p. 55 and liv (1950), pp. 70–72, contain an important account of new Russian excavations at Karmir-Blur, near Erivan. Here

Piotrovskii has discovered a palace-fortress built by Rusas II and called Teišebaina. Among many valuable finds a bronze helmet decorated with embossed scenes is particularly noteworthy.

largely lost in darkness. A remarkable cylinder seal of late provincial Sumerian style from Gök-Tepe<sup>1</sup> near Urmia, suggests that Mesopotamian influences travelled to the Armenian mountains very early. Indeed, the region's richness in minerals and stones is not likely to have remained long unknown to the Sumerians and their successors. In the middle or later second millenium B.C. the recently found civilisation of Trialeti,<sup>2</sup> to the North East of Armenia was apparently in some direct or indirect contact with Mesopotamian art, to judge by the decorated repoussé bronze vessels found in the graves. It is not likely that the current of culture flowing from Mesopotamia as far as the foothills of the Caucasus would have left Armenia quite untouched. A most likely medium of contact is the art of Elam, which as the statue of Napir-asu in the Louvre<sup>3</sup> shows, was certainly very skilled in casting large figures of bronze and in the arts of metalwork generally. Herzfeld, on the other hand, asserted that the source of Urartian culture was Anatolia. Supporting his view mainly on a few architectural features common to both areas, he claims that "the path of civilisation . . . is Asia Minor, Urartu, Media and Persia."<sup>4</sup> This facile statement hardly appears to be borne out by facts. The Urartians owed something, it is true, to Anatolia.<sup>5</sup> The god standing on a couchant animal is a regular Hittite type; but even this may be due to ultimate Mesopotamian influence, as the god on the animal is familiar on seals of the Agade period. Again it is true that the Urartians, as we have seen, employed a form of hieroglyphs very much like those of the Hittites; but that is not very strange if Urartu ruled over most of North Syria in the 8th century B.C. The Urartians owed something to the empire of Hurri,<sup>6</sup> but as much or more to Assyria.

The earliest Urartian inscription, that of Sarduris I, is in Assyrian; others are bilingual, in Assyrian and Urartian; and even after the Assyrian language is discarded in the 7th century the cuneiform script has come to stay. The seal of Urzana of Musasir himself<sup>7</sup> is in the finest Assyrian manner. Indeed it seems very likely that the minutely close and successful imitation of Assyrian art represented in the temple furniture at Toprak Kale is the result of very strong cultural influences just of the time of Sargon or a little before, when the temple at Toprak Kale was built and equipped. This is the period to which we must attribute the incised frieze (Figs. 15 and 20, r), representing

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien* . . ., p. 8, figs 3a, b.

<sup>2</sup> See reproductions in Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale*, Plates 286-292.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art "TEL"* Vol. I, Plates 271-3, circa 1500 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> It is rather tempting to see in a fragmentary clay relief from a Hittite vase found at Alishar, a female figure with extended wings which might have

formed a prototype for the winged female figures attached to bowls from Van. (von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük*, 1930-32, d. 2935, fig. 154 and Plates 1, 3).

<sup>6</sup> On Hurrian influences upon Urartu see Gelb, *Hurrians & Subarians*, pp. 82, 89 ff. and Adontz, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 268-9.

<sup>7</sup> Ménant, *Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux du Cabinet Royal des Médailles* (The Hague), Plate VII, no. 32.

a bull and other animals in the temple at Toprak Kale (above, p. 13), and the rock carving representing a bull at Adelyevas (Fig. 20, 1).<sup>1</sup> After the crushing defeats inflicted by Sargon in 714 and the invasions of the Cimmerians we would expect to find the contact with Assyria less close, and some symptoms of decline to appear. It is then the simpler slightly cruder style of figures such as Plate XVIII, 3 or the winged "Siren" figures on cauldrons in the early 7th century belong.

Lehmann-Haupt, after Karo, drew particular attention to the series of winged figures, usually with women's heads,<sup>2</sup> apparently originally attached in pairs to cauldrons, which have been found in some number at Van, and Etruria, and were much imitated in Greece. Kunze<sup>3</sup> published the first full catalogue, showing that eight examples forming a closely related group were known to come from Van; two more are from Etruria, another of uncertain provenance. Of these there are forty-odd Greek imitations in the style of the Geometric and Early Orientalising period from ten different sites. It is plain that the objects of which these were the ornaments were traded far and wide in the late 8th century and early 7th century B.C.

Kunze refused to admit that these objects were of Urartian manufacture and preferred, on artistic grounds, to believe that they came from North Syria, in spite of the fact that the only region where they had been found in the Near East was Van, and that the winged figures and the open-mouthed griffins associated with them have nothing in common with the art of North Syria. To call them North Syrian is clearly flying in the face of facts. There are other quasi-Assyrian motifs in the vocabulary of their authors such as the winged bull-men on the base of the Barberini cauldron.<sup>4</sup> Its lumpy style clearly influenced by Assyria, combined with certain features of technique, such as a combination of embossing and chasing and a taste for dotted lines, associate it with another piece evidently executed to order for a Cretan patron, the Tympanon illustrating Zeus and the Kouretes from the Idaean Cave.<sup>5</sup> The present author has elsewhere<sup>6</sup> suggested that this group had certain affinities to the art of Phrygia. If one may hazard a guess, it is that the master metal workers of Urartu, fleeing before the Assyrian and Cimmerian invasions, betook themselves westwards through Phrygia to Crete and onwards to Etruria to find security. Their art, now less closely resembling that of Assyria, represents the second and more decadent phase of the art of Van, a decadence which prevailed in their homeland through the 7th century B.C. and is exemplified in the coarse drawing and clumsy finish of the shields dedicated by Rusas III (Plates IX, X) probably at the end of the century.

<sup>1</sup> Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 353. The illustration in his book is wrongly described by him. That on the left of his figure is the bull at Adelyevas, not Toprak Kale. That on the right is from Toprak Kale.

<sup>2</sup> *Armenien* . . . , II, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Kretischen Bronzereliefs*, Anhang II.

<sup>4</sup> *Armenien* . . . , II, 2, pp. 922-3, figs.

<sup>5</sup> Kunze, *Die Kretischen Bronzereliefs*, Plate 49.

<sup>6</sup> *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948.

## APPENDIX

The Assyrian text describing the throne and bed of Marduk and Zarpanit which Sennacherib carried off from Babylon to Assyria is well known and has been repeatedly published.<sup>1</sup> The only adequate collation and translation, however, is that of Bauer. Even this is still very unsatisfactory, any translation being hampered by the lacunae in the text, the ambiguities of the grammar, and the rarity of some of the technical words. I am deeply obliged to Mr. C. Gadd and Dr. H. Figulla for examining and collating the text afresh and advising me; even so, there is little to add to Bauer's version.

The text in the form of an inventory is available in two recensions. The earlier and more fragmentary is K.8664, where it is appended to the draft of a dedicatory hymn addressed apparently by Sennacherib to Assur alone. The later, K.2411, is much longer. It gives first a long address by Assurbanipal to Marduk and Zarpanit, re-dedicating this furniture to them (Craig and Bauer's Col. I; Streck's IV), then a copy of the text with which Sennacherib actually had dedicated the furniture to Assur and Ninlil and which Assurbanipal caused to be obliterated (Col. II, Streck's III).

## Col. II

- 16 VI ammatu II/III ammatu ina I ammati arak a-ma-[. . .]<sup>2</sup>  
 17 III ammatu III-šu ammatu ina I ammati šarri pu-u-tu  
 18 XII na-al-ba-a-te huraši šid-du [. . . . .]<sup>3</sup>  
 19 VI ditto rupšu-šu kakkad a-ma-ra-te muš-[ruššu . . .]te [. . .  
 20 še- i-tu na-al-ba-a-te [. . . .]ŠI(meš)GAB [. . . .]<sup>4</sup>  
 21 (iṣ)hašhur a-bi (aban) KA (aban) GUG (aban)ukni i-lab-bu[ni<sup>5</sup>  
 22 Še-i-tu šap-li-tu hurašu mē(meš) ina muhhi hub-bu[-u  
 23 kab-la-a-te (sal)lamassate (meš) šapliš (sal) lamassate (meš) su-pur [. . . .  
 24 VIII (sal) lamassate (meš) ina muhhi II gi-si-e ša šid[-di  
 25 I-aia [. . . .(sal)] lamassate (meš) ina muhhi [. . . . .]ta-a-[an ?  
 26 (sal) lamassate (meš) mē (meš) i-lab-bu-[ni?<sup>5</sup>  
 27 gi-si-a-ni mē (meš) [hub?]-bu [-u?  
 28 I ammatu II/III ammatu ina I ammati šarri kab-lu<sup>6</sup> [ša] (iṣ) [irši<sup>7</sup>  
 29 III ammatu III-su ammatu ina I ammati-šarri araku ša (iṣ) kus-[si  
 30 I ammatu II/III ammati rupšu-šu (sal) lamassate (meš) mē (meš) i-lab-bu-[ni<sup>5,7</sup>  
 31 IV (sal) lamassate (meš) ina muhhi II gi-si-e ša šid-di  
 32 II ditto ina pu-u-te naphar ? (iṣ) kussi  
 33 I ammatu II/III ammatu arak (iṣ) kit-tur-ri II/III ammatu mu-lu-u  
 34 II/III ammatu rupšu-su ku-up-te a-di mušrušši

## Translation.

- " 16 6 $\frac{2}{3}$  cubits (measured) by the (royal) cubit is the length of the . . .  
 17 3 $\frac{2}{3}$  cubits (measured) by the royal cubit is the front ;  
 18 12 mouldings of gold (form) the (long) side [. . . . .] ;  
 19 6 ditto is its breadth. The summit (lit. head) of the bed-head is a dragon [. . . . .] ;

<sup>1</sup> Craig, *Religious Texts*, p. 76; Langdon, *Penitential Psalms*, p. 70-72; Luckenbill, *Annals of Assyria*, p. 387 ff; Sidersky, *Assyrian Prayers*, J.R.A.S., 1929, p. 767; Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Bauer reads a-ma-r[u]; but this is not confirmed

by the remaining traces.

<sup>3</sup> Bauer restores [ša] (iṣ) ir[si].

<sup>4</sup> Bauer reads (aban) UD.[AS].

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps read i-rib-bu-.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps read šumelu.

<sup>7</sup> Confirmed from K.8664.

- 20 the *še'itu* (is of) mouldings<sup>1</sup> [. . .] eyes . . . of . . . .  
 21 *hašhur abi* wood, KA-stone, carnelian and lapis lazuli cover (?) it ;  
 22 the lower *še'itu* is of gold ; the waters are on the *hubbu*.  
 23 the bed-legs are female genii ; below are female genii ; the hooves (or claws)  
 [. . .] ? of the  
 24 8 female genii are on the 2 cones<sup>2</sup> of the side ;  
 25 the female genii [. . . .] singly on the . . . . . ;  
 26 the female genii increase (?) the waters ;  
 27 the waters . . . . . the cones ;  
 28  $1\frac{2}{3}$  cubits (measured) by the royal cubit is the leg of the bed ;  
 29  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cubits (measured) by the royal cubit is the length of the throne,  
 30  $1\frac{2}{3}$  cubits is its width ; the female genii increase (?) the waters ;  
 31 4 female genii are on the two cones of the side,  
 32 2 ditto on the front of the whole (??) of the throne.  
 33  $1\frac{2}{3}$  cubits is the length of the seat,  $\frac{2}{3}$  cubit is its height,  
 34  $\frac{2}{3}$  cubit is its width. The *kupte* (go) up to the dragon."

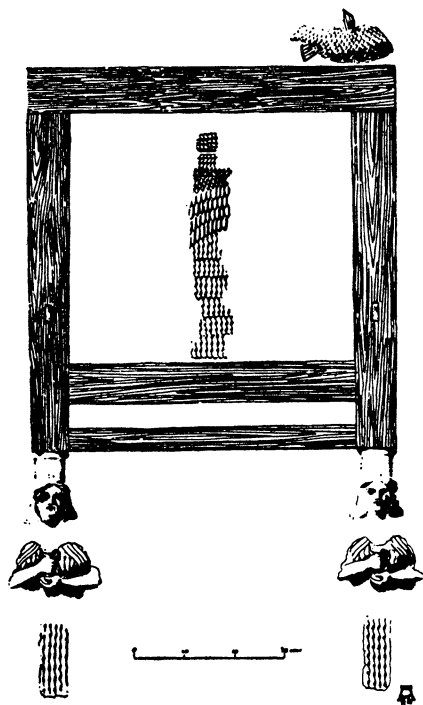


FIG. 21.—Impression of the divine throne of Marduk at Babylon

Lines 16 to 27 describe what can only be a bed approximately twice as long as it is broad, elaborately ornamented with coloured stones and carved figures. The top of the bed is carved with a dragon, the sacred animal of Marduk, while the legs are formed of female

<sup>1</sup> The word *nalbanate*, also written *nalbate* (for *nalbante*) is obviously connected with *nalbanum*, from *labanu*, "to make bricks." *Nalbanum* is translated "Ziegelbehälter," "a mould for making bricks," by von Soden, *Z.A.* 45, 1939, pp. 62–68 ; cf. Neugebauer

and Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts*, p. 133. *Nalbanate* must be tiles or bricks cast in a *nalbanum*.

<sup>2</sup> *gisu* is taken as the same as *gi-sa*, which Sachs, *B.A.S.O.R.*, p. 36, shows to mean a truncated cone.

creatures apparently with the bodies of winged beasts such as are used to protect the doorways of Assyrian palaces and in pieces of furniture such as we have noticed; they are apparently grouped two at each corner, and stand directly on the inverted cones which are regularly placed at the bottoms of furniture legs in Assyria. It would appear likely that they are represented holding vases of water.

Lines 29 to 34 describe the throne. To help reconstruct it from the description we may compare the impression of the side of a divine throne which Koldewey found in the asphalt floor of Esagila, the Temple of Marduk at Babylon, under the mound of Amran ibn Ali (Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, *W.D.O.G.*, 15, p. 43, Fig. 62 (Fig. 21). The legs are formed by two female figures holding overflowing vases, *i.e.*, "increasing the waters." The arm is supported by a draped figure advancing to the side, while on the top of the arm is the figure of a fish. Nearby lay the impression of an ornament representing the head of Marduk's dragon, the *mušruššu*. Similar female figures holding flowing vases support the legs of a table or other piece of furniture carved on a Babylonian cylinder found at Persepolis.<sup>1</sup> A text recently published shows that the overflowing vases typify the fertility resulting from the marriage of god and goddess.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis*, *O.I.C.*, 21, *Orientalia*, XVII (1949) (Sacred marriage of Ningirsu and Baba). p. 42, Fig. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Jestin, *Un rite sumérien de fécondité*, *Archiv.*



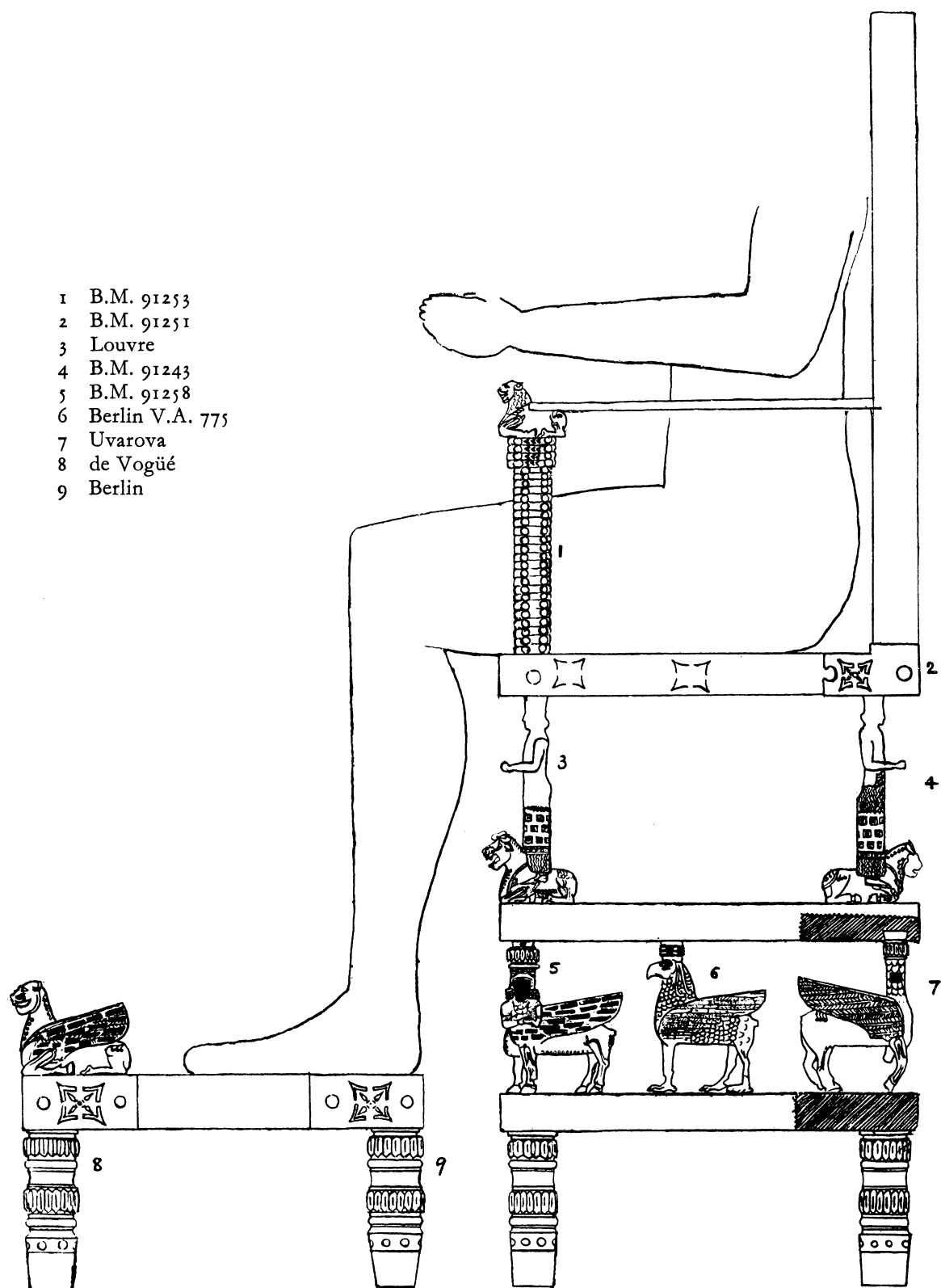


FIG. 22.—Tentative reconstruction of divine bronze throne and stool at Toprak Kale



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Russian Excavations in Armenia

Author(s): R. D. Barnett and W. Watson

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## RUSSIAN EXCAVATIONS IN ARMENIA

By R. D. BARNETT AND W. WATSON

THE most important contribution to the subject of Urartian archaeology is the publication in 1950 of a preliminary report on the excavations at Karmir-Blur. This (*Karmir Blur*, I) is a short work of 97 pages accompanied by 16 half-tone illustrations and 64 text figures by B. B. Piotrovsky (*Akademii Nauk Armyanskoy S.S.R.*, Erivan, 1950). Its importance lies in the fact, first, that it is the first controlled excavation of any importance which has taken place in Urartian territory, and second, in the nature of the material discovered and described. The care with which the excavation was evidently conducted further adds to its importance. As copies of this work outside the "Iron Curtain" must be exceedingly rare, we have thought fit to present a detailed and illustrated summary for the benefit of Western students. The book, too, may be condensed with some profit, as it repeats itself in different chapters yet lacks enough cross-references.

Karmir-Blur is an ancient site on the left bank of the River Zanga below Erivan and opposite the village of Jaferabad (fig. 1). On the west of it lies a wide waterless plateau, on the south are irrigated gardens and fields. The plateau is covered with crumbled walls forming red earth, from which the local name meaning "Red Mound" is derived. On the top of the site are remains of mediaeval farm-houses, and, abutting the *tall* on the west, are remains of a large town covering about 60 hectares, in which at least three straight streets with *insulae* on either side can be distinguished. The site was much robbed until 1936 by peasants seeking earth who found many vases and in 1936 a fragment of an inscription mentioning Rusa, son of Argišti (c. 680-645 B.C.). The same year an expedition began work under the joint leadership of Piotrovsky (for the Hermitage) and Kafadarian (for the Armenian Commission for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments) and by representatives of other bodies. Work was concentrated on a huge building on the central mound which turned out to be the domestic wing and storehouses of the citadel (fig. 2). The citadel was found to be a massive structure, the walls of which were built in a series of alternate recessed niches and buttresses, while along the steep slope facing the River Zanga they formed a series of towers proceeding in stepped fashion, one leading in front of the other. The inner face of the citadel building was also treated in this indented fashion and recessed to form a huge courtyard entered through two gates. This courtyard area enclosed the homes of the richer part of the community.

In the small area of the town which was opened, a little information was gained concerning the *insulae*. They represented each a single structure containing several dwellings of the same type; one included as many as five.

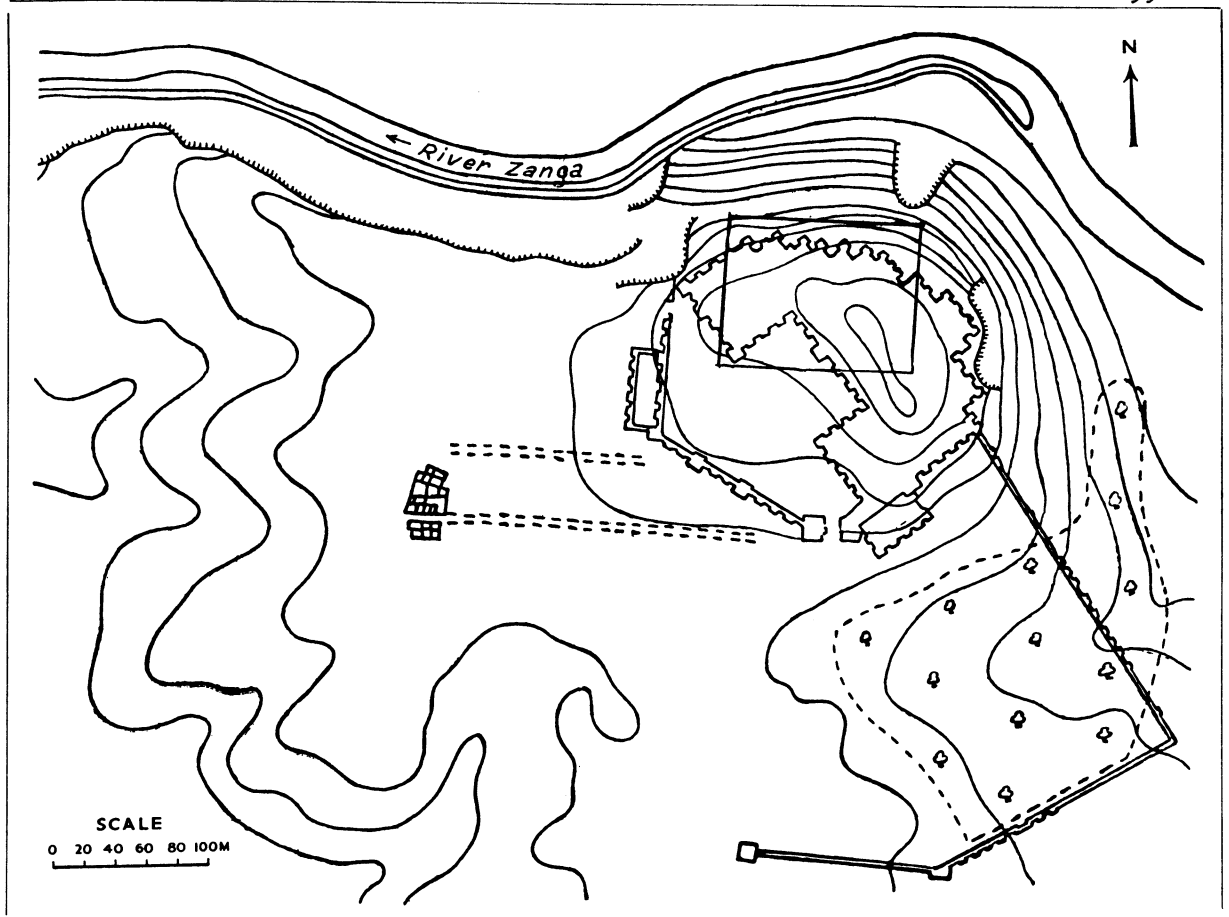
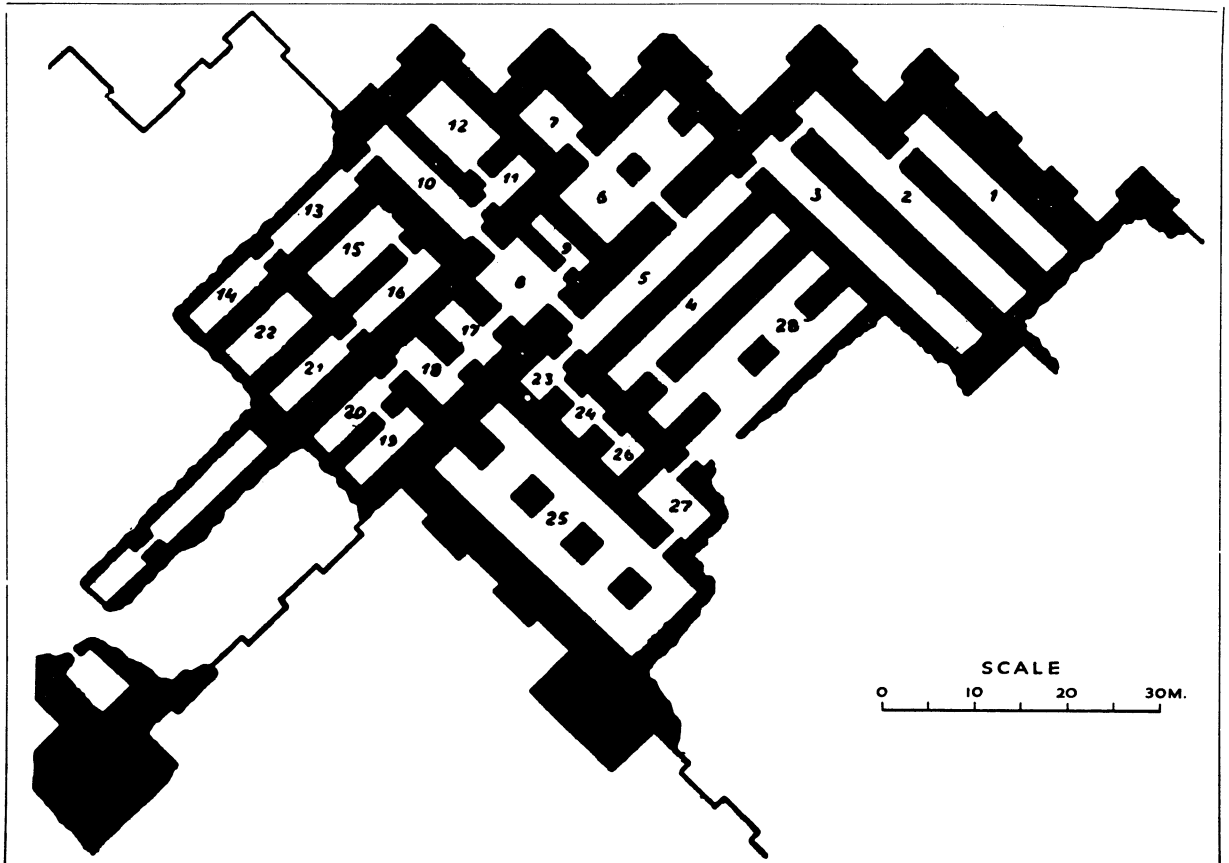


Fig. 1. Plan of the city and citadel of Karmir-Blur.



Each had its separate entrance, an open court and two living-rooms. The buildings were apparently wholly built of stone, with wooden pillars supporting the roof. The pillars rested on bases of tufa. Whereas the character of the citadel architecture was strongly reminiscent of Mesopotamia, that of the town had closer analogies to the buildings of the ancient Caucasus. Clay pots and a potter's wheel of clay, iron objects and a "stamp-cylinder"<sup>1</sup> were found. A double-sided mould of stone for casting an axe of Transcaucasian type was picked up here on the surface. It would seem that the buildings are contemporary with the citadel.

A cemetery of the Hellenistic period was also excavated, containing skeletons placed in a crouched position in cist graves, in some cases more than one skeleton being placed in the same grave.

There are also traces of graves of a pre-Urartian period to the south-west of the grove of trees outside the citadel. They may, however, have overlapped into the Urartian period. In these the bodies were laid in a crouched position inside a circle or semicircle of upright stones covered with thick stone slabs. In the graves were deposited clay vessels, bronze objects and in one case obsidian arrow-heads.

*The Citadel.*—The citadel, which formed the main area of excavation, is said to belong to two periods. The date of the earlier is not stated, but from the presence in it of objects bearing the name of Menua, it would seem to us to belong to the late ninth or early eighth century. The main building period however is ascribed to Rusa son of Argišti (c. 680-645 B.C.). It seems to have been destroyed in a violent conflict which took place, according to the excavators, at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Many arrow-heads of a type recognised as Scythian (see below, p. 147 and fig. 12, local arrow-heads are seen on fig. 13) were found around the West gate, a large number being imbedded in a great mass of fallen brickwork with their tips bent or broken. The excavators date this type of arrow head between 600 and 575 B.C. There is however some reason to doubt this dating, and to place this destruction of Karmir Blur, as T. Sulimirski will show,<sup>2</sup> in about 625 B.C., connecting it with the beginning of the Scythian invasion of Western Asia before the fall of Nineveh. Remains of fruits, such as pomegranate, grapes and water-melon seeds were found in nearby houses, and from this and other indications the excavators judge that the fall of Karmir-Blur took place in the first half of August.

Inside the courtyard were small temporary living rooms, built against the inner façade, roofed originally with light branches and earth, which were used for habitation during the siege. They stood near the north west gate and at the

<sup>1</sup> For this nomenclature see below, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> In an article which is at present in preparation.

south west corner. The former were burnt and the latter, though unburnt, were plundered, and contained the bodies of the slain defenders. In these rooms were found large quantities of millet, used for making beer, barley, wheat and peas, also fragments of a bronze quiver, which originally hung on the wall.



Fig. 3. Scaraboids.

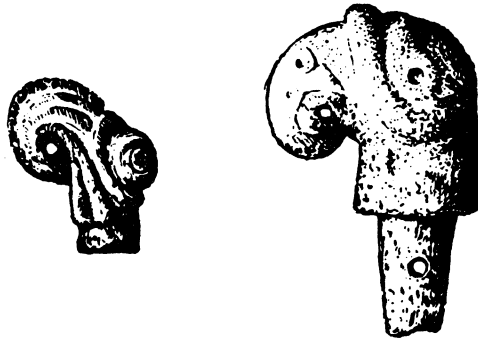


Fig. 4. Griffin heads of horn.

Another dwelling near the west gate contained remains of three wicker shields with bronze conical omphaloi, two of which were inscribed "Argišti<sup>1</sup> son of Menua."

The citadel is thought by the excavators to have been the court of the Urartian viceroy or other royal representative, and contained a number of rooms which were apparently used for storing tribute and supplies. Some of these, however, had been used for temporary habitation during the last days of the siege in which the city was destroyed. At the south side of the courtyard were the residences of the officials. The building as a whole covered 1,600 square metres and contained at least 120 rooms, of which 30 have been so far excavated. The walls are of large unbaked bricks containing chopped straw, which measured  $52 \times 35 \times 14$  cm. The bases of the walls consist of huge unworked stones. Some of the walls are preserved up to a height of 7 metres and are about 4 metres in width. The original height of the rooms is thought to have been about 10 metres. The roof was flat and was made of beams of pine, poplar, oak and beech. According to the excavators there were two systems in which these were laid, both of which are still used in the Caucasus. According to the one, the beams are planed on one side and laid close together, and on top of them layers of reed, twigs and rushes, and finally beaten earth, are placed. According to the other, there are transverse beams across which longitudinal beams are laid, and above these a layer of reeds. Windows were inserted in the walls high up near the roof. There are also the remains of light wells. The central part of the palace was two storeys high, and in some

<sup>1</sup> c. 785-760 B.C.

parts it appears that there was a cornice with crenellations, as on the bronze model from Toprak Kale (*Iraq*, XII, pl. 1). The building as we have said seems to have been built in two periods, the earlier belonging to the time of Menua, and the later, containing storehouses of different kinds, to the time of Rusa son of Argišti (c. 680-645 B.C.).

Rooms 1, 2 and 3 have whitewashed walls, with a decoration imitating brickwork. Room 2 contained cakes of sesame and refuse of sesame oil, apparently used for fuel or fodder, stone rubbers and a pestle and mortar.

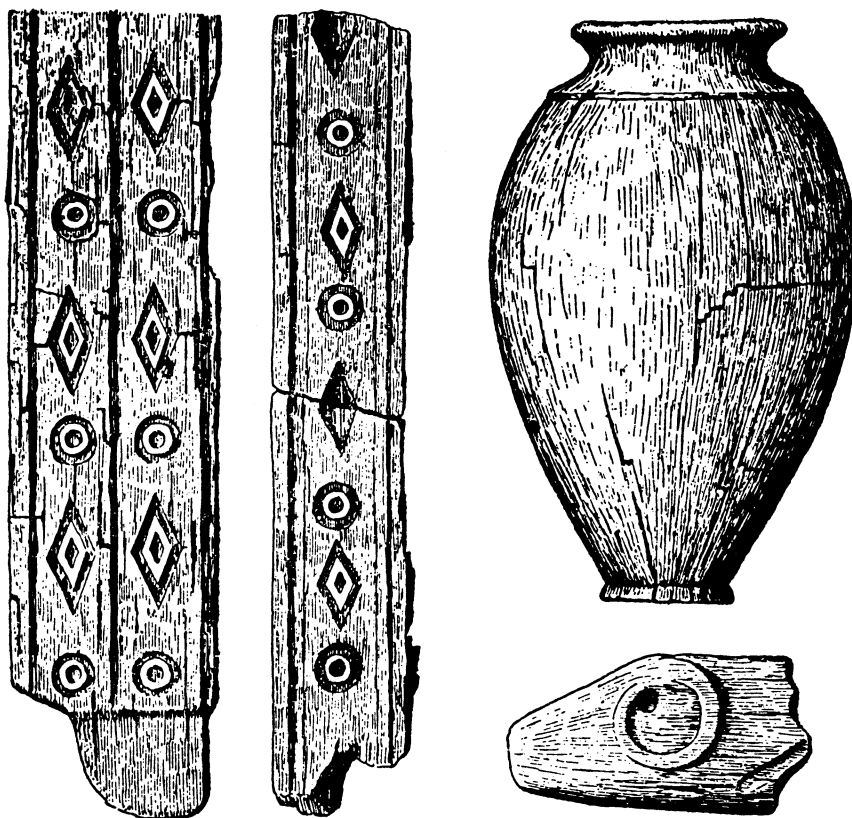
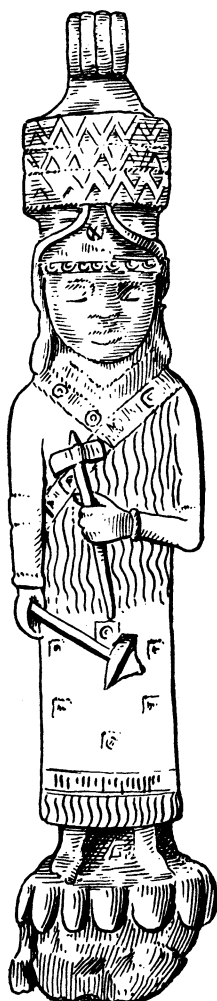


Fig. 5. Wooden objects.

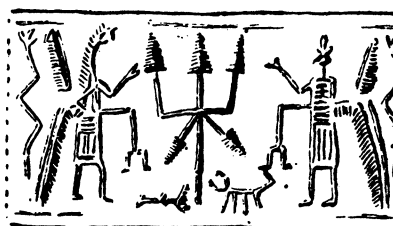
Near the door leading to Room 3 was a large shield of bronze about 1 metre across with a conical centre which had apparently fallen from the wall. It was inscribed "From the fortress of Argišti,<sup>1</sup> son of Menua; this shield Argišti, son of Menua, powerful king, great king, king of Biaina, ruler of the city Tušpa; (dedicated) to the god Haldi."

<sup>1</sup> c. 785-760 B.C. The text is published by Piotrovski, *Epig. Vostoka*, II, 84: (m) *Ar-gi-iš-ti-ni u-ri-iš-ḫu-si-ni-i* (m) *Me-nu-a-ḫi-ni i-ni a-še* (m) *Ar-gi-iš-ti-ni* (m) *Me-nu-a-ḫi-ni* ŠARRU DAN.NU ŠARRU *al-su-i-ni* ŠAR MAT *Bi-i-na-na-u-e a-lu-si* (alu) *Tu-uš-pa* (alu)

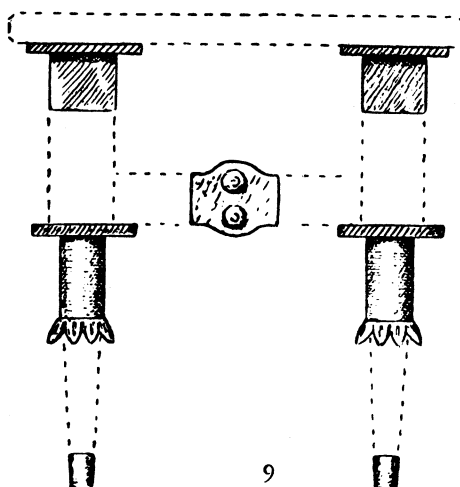
(ilu) *Hal-di-e e-u-ri-e i-ni a-še* (m) *Ar-gi-iš-ti-še* (m) *Me-nu-a-ḫi-ni uš-tu-ni* (ilu) *Hal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ni* (m) *Ar-gi-iš-ti-ni* (m) *Me-nu-a-ḫi* ŠARRU DAN.NU ŠARRU *al-su-i-ni* ŠAR MAT *Bi-a-na-u-e a-lu-si* (alu) *Tu-uš-pa* (alu).



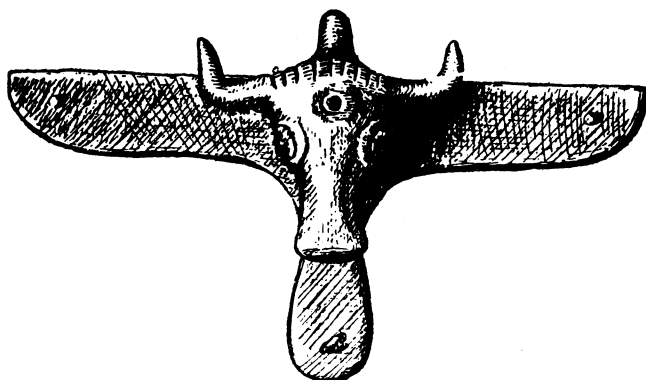
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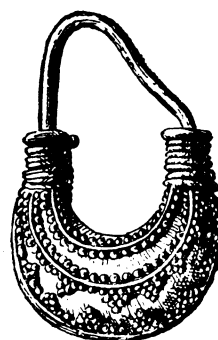
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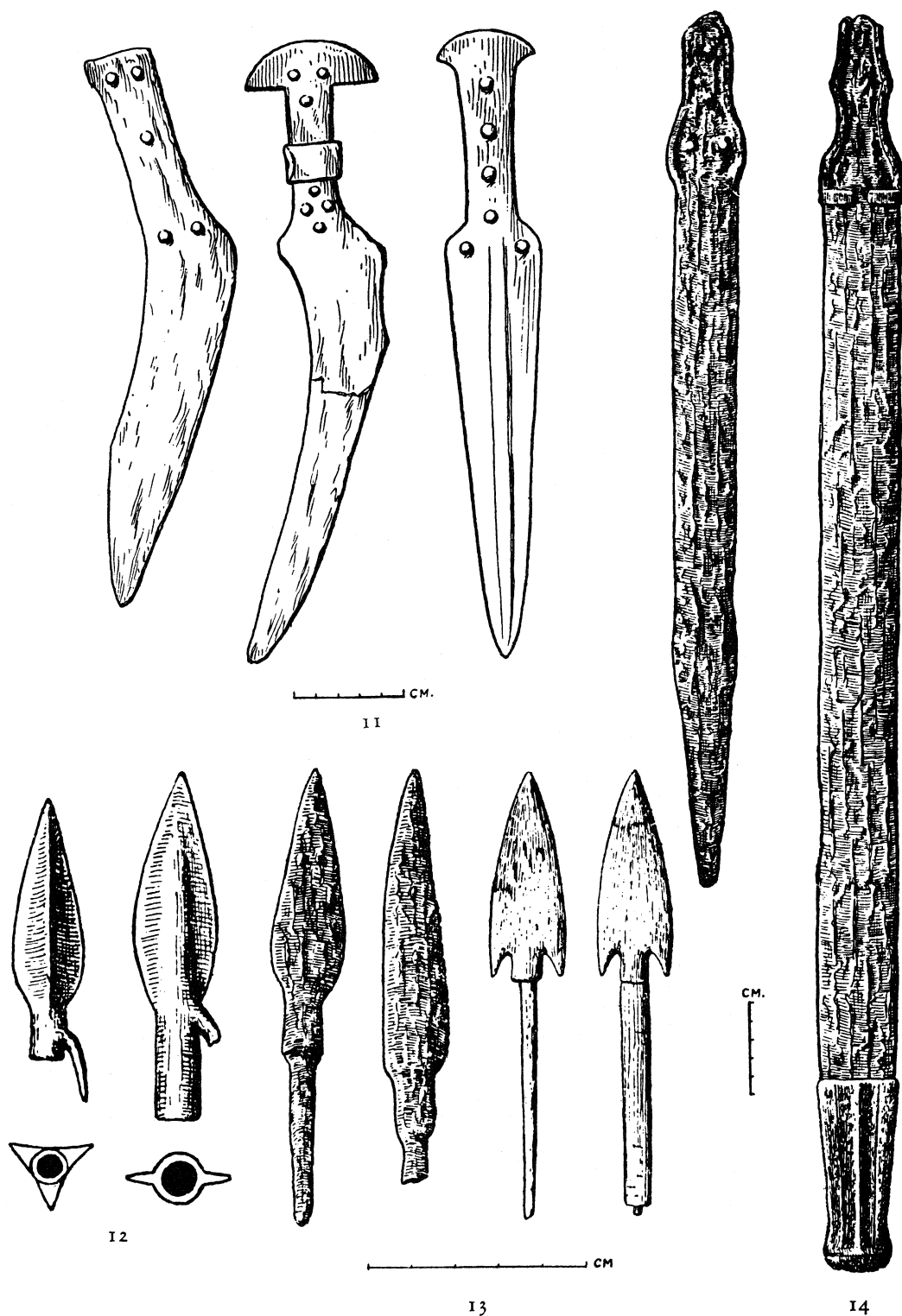


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Figs. 6-10.

6. Bronze figure of Teišeba. 7. Stamp cylinder. 8. Bronze ornament of vase.  
9. Bronze fragment of furniture. 10. Gold earring.





Figs. 11-14.

11. Iron knives and sword. 12. Scythian arrow heads. 13. Arrow heads.  
14. Iron sword and scabbard.

Room 4 contained a vat with a gutter leading out of the citadel. Small finds found in it included a bronze belt made of plates ornamented with dotted lines (of a type also found elsewhere in Urartu, at Goloveno and Malaklyu near Igdir, Mt. Ararat), fragments of an iron saw and a griffin's head of Scythian style made of horn and remains of another unfinished specimen (fig. 4).<sup>1</sup> There were also cut basalt blocks, which appear to have been lodged in the upper part of the southern wall of the room.

Room 5 had four doors. In it was found half a bronze quiver (the other half being in Room 13) about 66 cm. long (Plate XXXII, 1), decorated with eight bands of horsemen, chariots and ritual scenes, and dedicated by Sarduri<sup>2</sup>; also a bronze statuette of the god Teišeba, apparently the head of a standard (fig. 6). This figure is 25 cm. high. His garment is decorated with small squares like the figure from Toprak Kale (*Iraq*, XIII, Pt. 1, pl. VII), and he holds in his right hand a disc-shaped mace and a double axe in the left. On his head there is a capital pierced with a horizontal hole. He stands on a base which was fixed to an iron rod. In the western part of the room were a quantity of beads, Assyrian cylinder-seals and an Urartian "stamp cylinder."<sup>3</sup>

Room 6 lay below 5 and was reached by descending a staircase. The roof of the room was supported on a central pillar which stood on a stone base. In the western part were heaps of wheat.

Room 7 contained remains of six *pithoi* holding sesame seed and three much damaged cuneiform tablets, now published by I. N. Diakonov, *Epigrafika Vostoka*, II, 1948, 86. Two contained personal names (one is Ištagi), apparently witnesses to a contract, and one has traces of a cylinder-seal impression. The third tablet mentions sending of artisans and oxen.

Room 8 was empty; it led into 9, which had been destroyed by fire. Room 8 gave admittance to Room 10 by means of a staircase or ramp. In Room 10, apparently used as a living-room during the siege, were found stone querns and various iron and bronze implements, including curved iron knives (type of fig. 11), whetstones, a short iron sword (fig. 11) and a superb bronze helmet ornamented with a broad frieze of chariots and ritual scenes protected by lion headed snakes (fig. 15 and plates XXXII, 2, XXXIII, 2). This decoration is executed in repoussé, and there is an inscription "To the god Haldi, Sarduri, son of Argišti, for his life" followed by two hieroglyphs. An Assyrian faience cylinder-seal showing a man fighting a monster was also found.

Room 11 contained a bronze loop for latching the door, which bore the inscription "Rusa son of Argišti, fortress of Teišebaina."<sup>4</sup>

Room 12 was filled with about 20,000 litres of wheat to a depth of 25-45 cm.,

<sup>1</sup> On p. 96 of the book however these objects are described as found in the "room of the gate-keeper of the citadel."

<sup>2</sup> c. 760-733 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> For this nomenclature, see below, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> (m) Ru-sa-a-i (m) Ar-gišt-te-ḫi-ni-i (bitu) u-ri-  
[išt-ḫu-si-ni(alu)(ilu)] Te-i-te-ba-i-ni(alu). Published by  
Piotrovski, *Epig. Vostoka* II, 84.

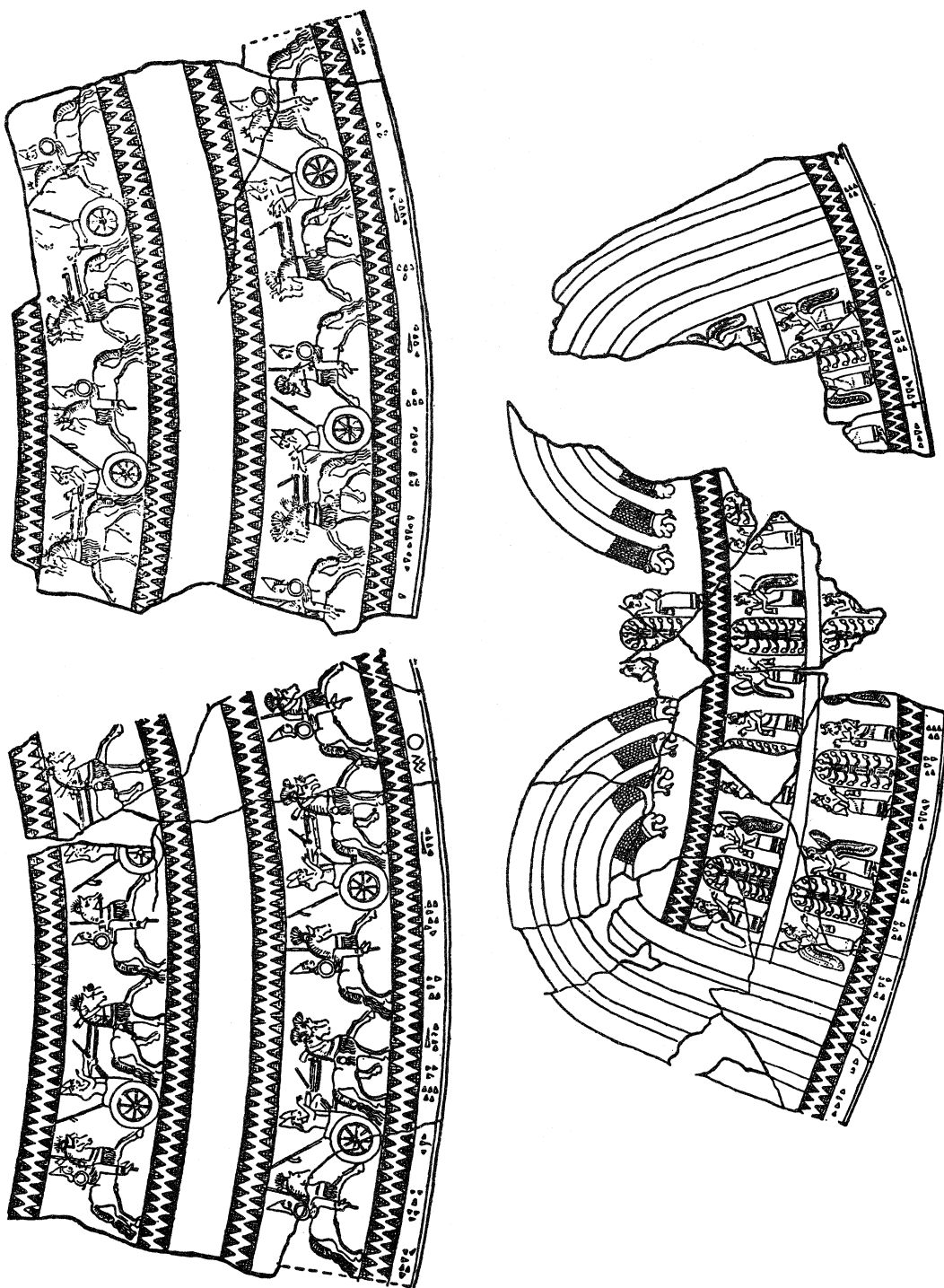
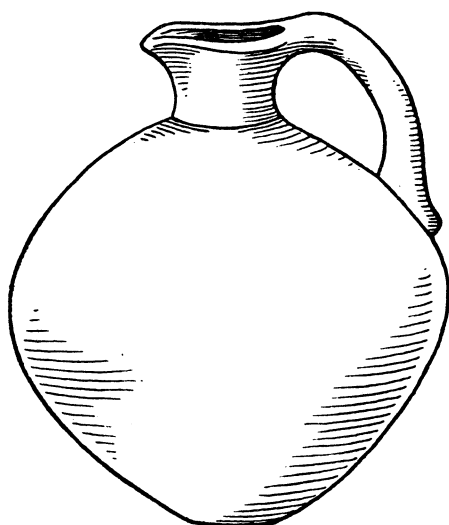
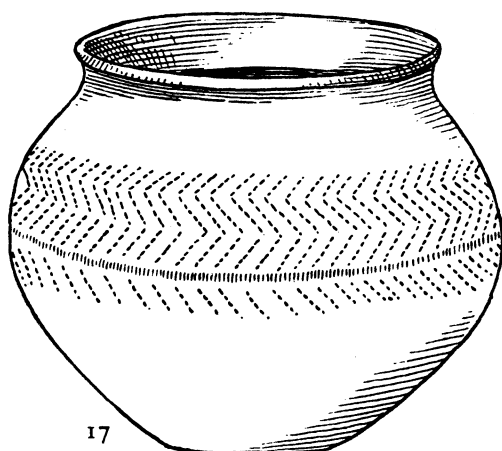


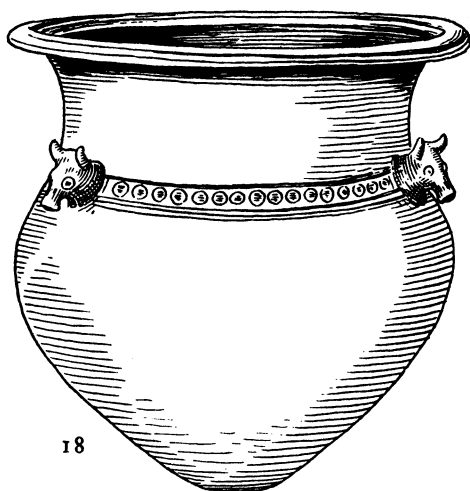
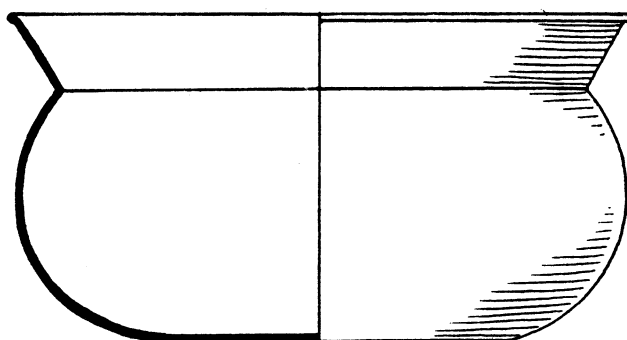
Fig. 15. Decoration of bronze helmet of Sarduri.



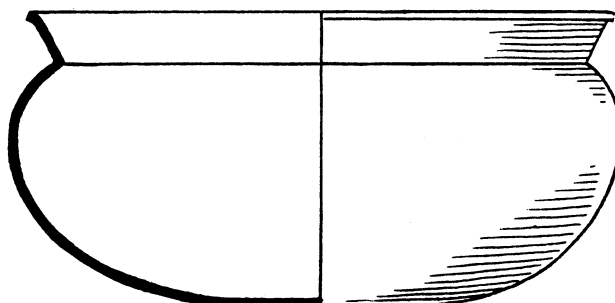
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17



18



19

Figs. 16-19. 16. Red burnished ware. 17. Coarse ware. 18. Black burnished ware.  
19. Bronze bowls.

and amongst it were remains of insects and weevils. In the southern part of the room, on a wooden platform, were bronze pieces of furniture (fig. 9), some cups and *phiale* of Assyrian type, small bells and bracelets and fragments of a bronze belt decorated with a design of a bull and a sacred tree in a cartouche. Inside a cup were some fine gold earrings, decorated with granulation (fig. 10)<sup>1</sup>. A bronze bucket was found, ornamented with two bulls' heads in relief, and also an isolated bull's head of the same type (fig. 8).

Room 13 was also a store-room but had been used as a living-room during the siege. It contained querns, vessels of grain, including one wooden vase turned on a lathe (fig. 5), a wooden handle shaped as a ram's head (fig. 5) and fragments of wooden panelling, perhaps from furniture (fig. 5), inlaid with geometrical shapes in horn, also fragments of an iron javelin. Some pieces of woollen textiles, balls of woollen thread and a distaff with unspun yarn and fragments of net and remains of grass matting were also found.

The same room contained a "huge" quantity of bronzes, fragments of a second belt of thin bronze, ornamented with dotted lines, fibulae<sup>2</sup>, a long iron sword of Transcaucasian type, 72 cms. long, with bronze-rimmed handle and a scabbard having a bronze tip (fig. 14), knives, sickles and daggers, many beads and fish bones. Included amongst them were two Urartian seals and a paste bead, hemispherical with ribbing, which is said to be of Scythian origin. A steatite finial, perhaps from a wand, in the shape of a lion's head, and one half of a quiver, the other half of which was found in Room 5, lay in the doorway of this room (see above, p. 139).

Room 14 contained a lamp-stand of iron, 1.45 m. high, with a tripod foot, somewhat similar to one found at Toprak Kale (*Iraq*, XIII, Pt. 1, fig. 13).

Room 15 was apparently used as a brewery. On the floor was a deep vat with a gutter running through Room 13 to the outside. Above this was a stone funnel resting on a wooden structure, and nearby lay an iron shovel with a long handle and a clay pot. In the pot were barley seeds and a filter of straw and twigs covering a hole in the base. This was used for making beer.

Room 16 contained a large burnished black vessel, 50 cm. high, with a painted shoulder-band having concentric circles of black and brown on yellow and bulls' heads in high relief (fig. 18). This also appears to have been used for beer.

Room 17 was empty except for part of an iron lamp and of an iron chain.

<sup>1</sup> The excavators consider this pair of earrings to be Western Anatolian or Ionian, of the sixth century B.C., but one may disagree with this opinion. They would seem to be Oriental, perhaps 625-575 B.C. The closest parallels seem to be Phoenician earrings from Tharros (end of seventh century?)—Marshall, *Catalogue of Greek, etc. Jewellery in the British Museum*, Pl. XXIII, 1495, and a pair from Ur, from below the Persian floor of E-nun-makh (Woolley, *A.J.* III,

No. 4. pl. XXX, 1923). Cf., a Cretan example (late seventh century: *J.H.S.*, 1944, pl. IX). For Ionic types, see Vinski, *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, I, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> The excavators say that whereas a fibula with thickened arc was the type made locally, another type with flattened arc was used in Urartu proper; but a fibula of this type was found by S. I. Makalatya in the Dran Cemetery (W. Georgia).

Room 18 contained a bronze helmet of Assyrian type originally held by a thong passing under the chin from two metal loops, also six bronze cups with offset rims (fig. 19), knives, sickles, two iron pitchforks, 83 and 54 cms. long, iron bridles and characteristic Scythian horse trappings with bone cheek-pieces (fig. 22) and beak-shaped buckles of bronze.<sup>1</sup> Two paste scaraboid amulets with imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphs were also found (fig. 3).

Room 19 contained a curious padlock of bronze in the shape of □ with a cross-bolt.

Room 20 contained four bronze wall-nails of Assyrian type.

Rooms 21-22 contained nothing of importance. Room 23 contained the remains of a wooden door, the planks of which were bolted together with wooden nails. There were also remains found of the iron latch in which it was held.

Room 24 contained a bronze helmet similar to that from Room 18 but decorated with a symbol in relief, perhaps of the god Teišeba (fig. 21), also some Scythian arrow-heads (fig. 12) and a "stamp cylinder" (fig. 7).

Room 25, the roof of which was supported on three columns painted with frescoes in several colours, representing a sacred tree between winged figures surmounted by a (winged?) disc, was a wine-store. It contained 82 *pitthoi* half buried in the ground (Plate XXXIII, 1). All are marked with measures of capacity, 62 being in hieroglyphs, 20 in cuneiform, and were evidently meant for wine, which, owing to the season (early August), was not yet made. Of these, a few were filled with wheat, barley and sesame. One, however, contained 97 bronze cups, all inscribed variously with the names of Menua, Argišti, Rusa and Sarduri.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions on Menua's six cups state that they belong to his fortress. 83 are inscribed "belonging to Sarduri," and five out of six belonging to Rusa also claim to belong to "the fortress" and bear a tree, a turret and a lion's head (fig. 20). One cup refers to the "small town of Rusa," and five, inscribed "Belonging to Argišti" add two hieroglyphs, an eagle and a rhombus.

In the centre of this room was a sacrificial stand with traces of burning and a censer, also five figures of gods in clay in the form of bearded men wearing fish skins. Iron implements, clay lamps, a clay funnel, a bulla with two seal impressions, and a cuneiform inscription, a Scythian iron bridle, beak-shaped

<sup>1</sup> These beak-shaped buckles for crossing straps were apparently taken over in the harnessing of Persian or Median horses, and may be seen illustrated on the sculptures of Persepolis, Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Pl. 94B, 99B, cf. 110; Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. LXVII. They are apparently related in function to the cross-over pieces ornamented

with figures of animals, in either bronze or ivory, from the Greek coast of Asia Minor, such as that in form of a boar, or that in form of a wild goat, Hogarth *Ephesus*, pl. XXIII, 2, 3, fig. 33, datable to the sixth century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Most probably Rusa II (660-625) and his son Sarduri III (645-625 B.C.).

buckles (fig. 22), a silver phalera and an ornament in the form of a three-armed swastika, were also found. Among them were the skeletons of four horses which had fallen through the roof, one of which wore horse-trappings of the above-mentioned Scythian type, while the others were bare. The excavator suggests that the horse with Scythian trappings had been captured by the besieged before the fall of the citadel (—he does not explain how these animals, with others mentioned below, found their way on to the roof).

Room 26 was filled with burnt bones, apparently of large and small horned cattle which had been sacrificed, the skulls and legs of the oxen and cows being

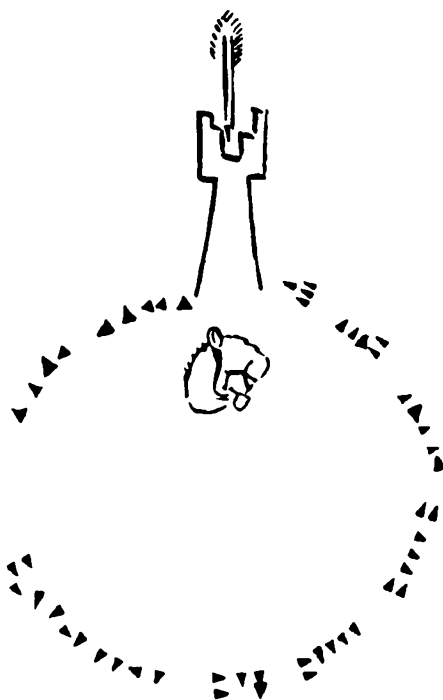


Fig. 20. Inscription and monogram of Sarduri, from bronze bowls.

missing. This was a storeroom, and the bones appear to have been collected from sacrificial pyres. The bronze fittings of a wooden stool with decoration of pendant leaves were also found (cf. fig. 9).

It is mentioned that there were also asses on the roof of the palace which collapsed into the rooms below. Parts of their flesh and skin were found, and, in one case, fragments of a stomach containing water-melon seeds. It is also mentioned that the heavy horned cattle resemble *bos primigenius* and that the horse is of an extinct species smaller than the Scythian horse as known from the South Russian kurgans, while the bones of the ass are identical with those of the



aboriginal type of ass found in Transcaucasia. Remains of a goat and of a pig and of two types of sheep were also found, but where it is not stated.

This concludes the list of things found in various rooms. The excavators mention under the heading of agriculture that grain included remains of *Triticum vulgare vill.*, soft wheat and barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) and rye (*Secale* L.) and millet (*Setaria italica*). In a vase found in a house near the west façade was a store of seeds of *Camelina microcarpa* and some fragments of Transcaucasian thyme, while stores of sesame were found in four large vases in Room 1 of the palace. Two kinds of beans, *Cicer arietinum* and *Ervum lens*, were also found. A plum-stone is also mentioned from Room 14 as are remains of pomegranate seeds in a house near the north-west corner of the fortress.

*Pottery* was of three kinds: (a) *Red burnished ware*, consisting of one-handled pitchers, profiled cups and small double vessels. It is remarked that the burnish is less than that on pottery from Central Urartu<sup>1</sup>, and that the pitchers often have a hieroglyph stamped under the handle (fig. 16). (b) *Coarse black ware* vases with wide neck and herringbone combed design (fig. 17). (c) *Plain ware*. The burnished pottery, which was found both in the citadel and in the town, has analogies in Transcaucasian cemeteries of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in the Debed Valley, at Šhaytan-dağ excavated by de Morgan, a cemetery at Goloven, and from finds of Lalayan in the Sevan region.

Among miscellaneous finds described by the excavators are seals of seal-cylinder type but with a second design on the bottom—a combination of cylinder- and stamp-seal (cf. fig. 7) which was christened “stamp-cylinder” by R. D. Barnett in a recent article.<sup>2</sup> The guess made there that these stamp-cylinders came from Urartu has been amply verified; 18 were found at Karmir Blur, 14 being of steatite, 3 of faience and 1 of bronze. Some were four-sided and some bell-shaped. Assyrian cylinder-seals were also found.

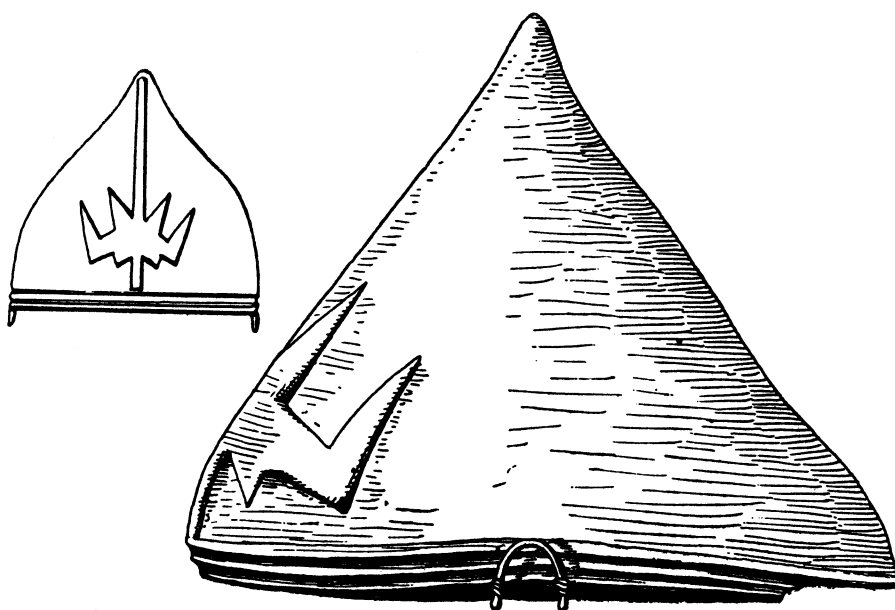
The excavators mention that beads of carnelian, sardonyx, rock crystal and steatite were found in huge quantities, and that the carnelian spherical beads have a funnel-shaped perforation which shows them to be Assyrian, whereas three barrel-shaped beads of golden carnelian are bored with a diamond, giving a strictly cylindrical perforation. An article of Lemmlein<sup>3</sup> is quoted suggesting that they are from Iran or India. A box of birch bark was found in the western part of the palace containing a necklace of agate beads, three Urartian seals and a bronze pendant bearing an inscription in cuneiform.

Scaraboids of Egyptian type have already been mentioned showing connections with Phoenician or Egyptian circles. In addition a small pendant of glazed paste representing Sekhmet was found. (The excavators mention

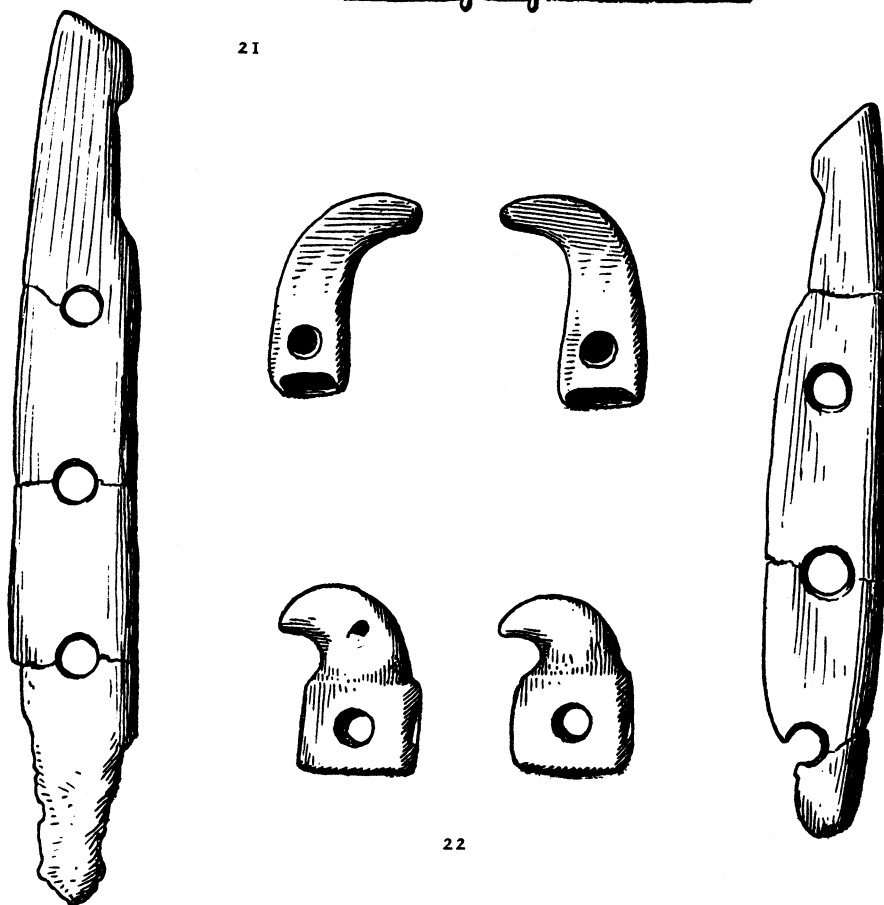
<sup>1</sup> For this see e.g. H. H. von der Osten, *Der Urartäische Töpferi aus Van*, I *Orientalia*, fasc. 21, 1952. (Part II has not yet appeared.)

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* 58, 1949, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Krat. Soob. I.I.M.K.* XVIII, 1947, 22.



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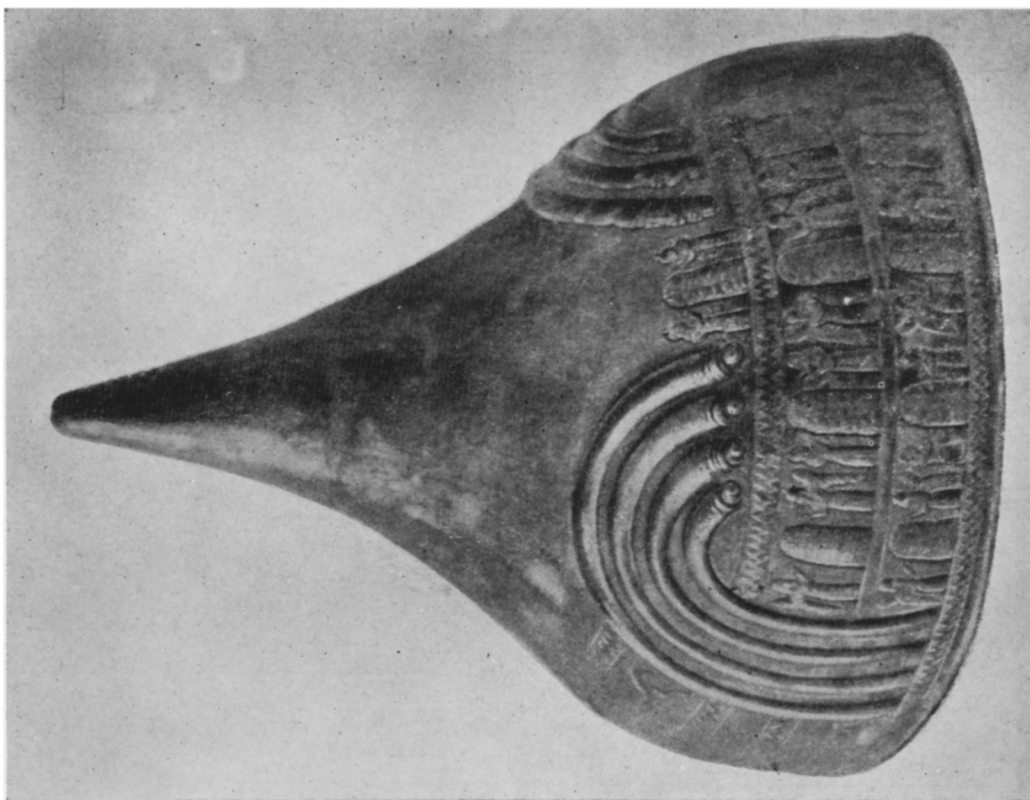


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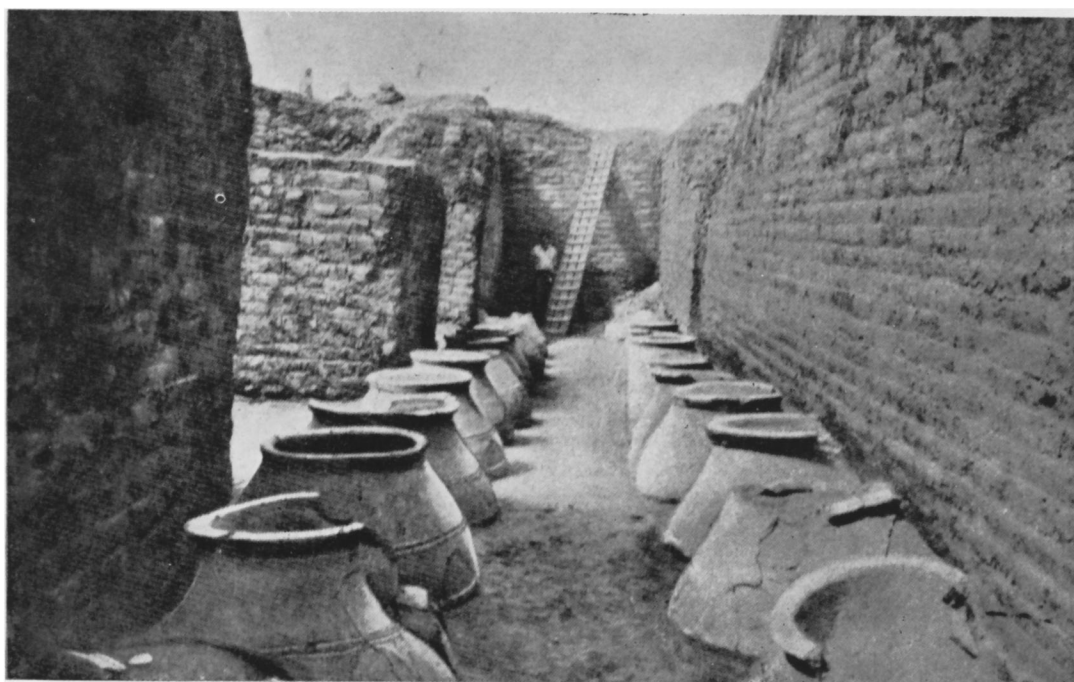
Fig. 21. Bronze helmet.  
Fig. 22. Bone pieces of Scythian bridle and bronze buckles.



1. Quiver with inscription of Sarduri, from Room 5.



2. Bronze helmet with inscription of Sarduri, from Room 10.



1. View of Wine Store in Room 25 at Karmir Blur



2. Detail of bronze helmet from Room 10

similar Egyptian objects found at Van and various parts of the Caucasus. In the cemetery of Mingechaur on the River Kur an *ujat* eye was found, and in the upper valley of the River Chegen in the Kabardin republic, 19 scarabs of Naucratic type were found).

Among the most interesting remains are those of Scythian origin associated with the destruction of the city. The room of the gate-keeper in the gate of the citadel contained a griffin's head of deer's antler apparently rubbed by long use (fig. 4). Nearby was another example which had apparently been made on the spot together with the remains of an iron saw.<sup>1</sup> Scythian arrow-heads and harness have been mentioned above.

The excavators report that bones of the following animals were found, apparently used as food: *Bos taurus*, the domestic ox; *Bos bubalus*, the humped ox; *Equus caballus*, the domestic horse; the pig; a gazelle, *Gazella subgutturosa*; a wild ram; a type of large goat resembling the Daghestan Tur (*Capra cylindricornis*); and some small horned cattle. Bones of a domestic dog (*Spitzhund*) (*Canis familiaris palustris*) and of a stone-marten, probably a pet, were also found. In the storehouse of the palace was found the skeleton of a wild cat which had fallen into it while chasing a mouse.

It is clear from this report that these excavations, conducted with very considerable care and skill, are of quite unusual interest and importance. It is much to be hoped that the excavator will in due course follow the work which we have studied, with a full-length publication and adequate photographic illustrations.

NOTE: The line illustrations to this article are all from Piotrovsky's *Karmir Blur* though several have been redrawn. The plates however are reproduced from his article *Urartu* in a collectaneous work, *Po Sledam Drevnikh Kultur* (1951) as the illustrations of the same subjects in *Karmir Blur* are too bad. In obtaining access to these publications we have been greatly helped by our colleague, Mr. J. C. W. Horne.

<sup>1</sup> But see above, p. 139, where according also to the excavators these are said to be from Room 4.

The Find of Urartian Bronzes at Altın Tepe, Near Erzincan

Author(s): R. D. Barnett and N. Gökçe

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## THE FIND OF URARTIAN BRONZES AT ALTIN TEPE, NEAR ERZINCAN

By R. D. BARNETT and N. GÖKCE

IN 1938 NEAR Erzincan an important find of Urartian metal-work was made, which is now in the Ankara Museum. In view of the rarity of Urartian material as yet recovered and of the brief character of the only publication of this find,<sup>1</sup> we thought it desirable to publish a fuller account.

### THE SITE

In 1938 workmen employed on the railway between Sivas and Erzurum excavated a hill 60 metres high called Altın Tepe. This hill is said to lie just south of the road from Erzincan to Erzurum, 4 kms. south of Cimin and 20 kilometres east of Erzincan.<sup>2</sup> Von der Osten, who visited the hill, describes it as once fortified and containing red-polished Urartian sherds. He adds that the site was "eine grössere, in den Fels geschlagene Anlage", built up with carefully cut rectangular blocks. He adds, however, that it would have to be cleared to be understood, but from the contents and the state of their preservation it seems likely that it was a chamber tomb belonging to an Urartian soldier. Von der Osten suggests that it was the grave of the commander of the military post stationed at this strategic junction of the road and river. It is much to be hoped that an opportunity may some day be found to clear this hill, thereby perhaps throwing more light on Urartian burial customs.

### THE FINDS

The material consists of the following pieces<sup>3</sup>:

(1) (Mus. Inv. 8823.) A huge bronze cauldron in perfect preservation. Height 0.51 m., by 0.72 m. broad (from the tip of one bull's horn to that

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<sup>1</sup> Von der Osten, VI Int. Kongress für Arch., 1939, *Neue Urartäische Bronzen aus Erzincan*, hereafter called v.d.O. The illustrations reappear in Bossert, *Altanatolien*, figs. 1186-1194.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hamit Koşay, Director of the Ethnographical Museum at Ankara, kindly informs us that the site, also known as Simi Sazlı Tepe, is located 500 metres S. of the high road (which skirts the plain on the north), south-east of Cimin. (Dr. von der Osten has drawn our attention to a photograph of the hill in an article by Professor J. Garstang in *A.J.A.* 1947 (1943) fig. 6, where it is described as the ancient site of Erzincan.) Hamit Bey has also kindly sent us two cuttings with illustrations from the Turkish newspapers, *Cumhuriyet* of 12th April, and *Ulus* of 15th April, 1938, describing the find. These reports add that these objects were found in one of six small chambers belonging to an ancient building on the east side of the hill four metres below the surface. The illustrations show the shield reposing on the cauldron, top uppermost, as a lid. The capacity of the cauldron is estimated at 300 litres.

<sup>3</sup> Von der Osten has been kind enough to inform us that, in addition to the pieces listed here, there were also found twenty silver bars, some inscribed with cuneiform signs, which were unfortunately stolen before the Department of Antiquities was able to take charge. The newspapers mentioned describe the bars as thick pipes, weighing in all fifteen kilos, and of "84 carat" quality, and state that they were found not at Altın Tepe but in excavations on another hill nearby two days later.

of the opposite head), the walls .003 m. thick. The bowl is made of beaten bronze or copper raised all from one piece, but with three handles in the form of bulls' heads, cast and chased, each of which is brazed onto a T-shaped plate at right-angles rather resembling a bird, which in its turn is riveted to the rim of the cauldron with four rivets. On either side of each T-plate on the rim of the cauldron there are remains of a pair of further

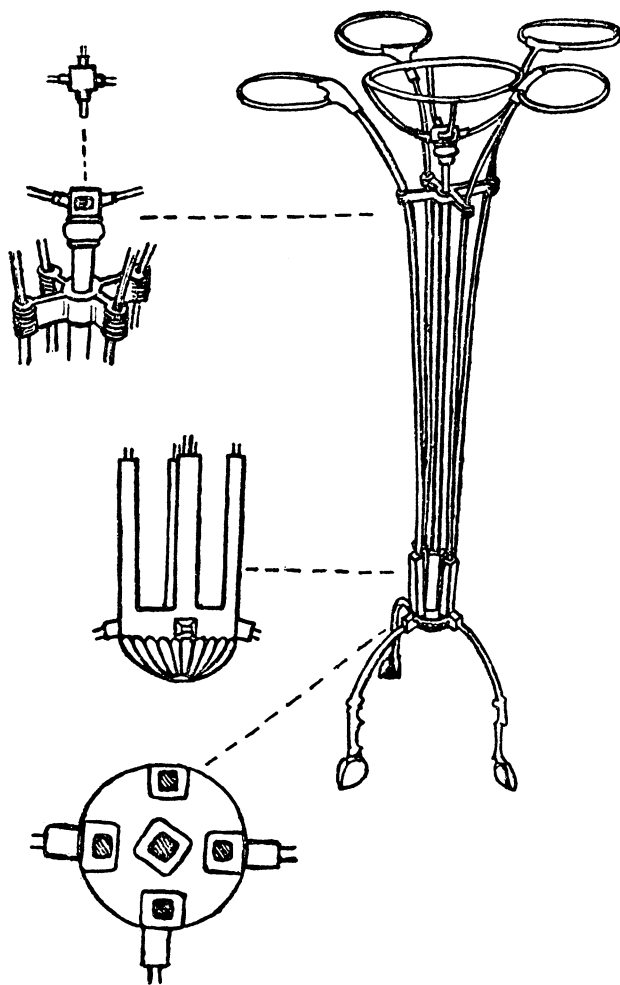


FIG. 1. Tripod-stand.

rivets, suggesting that it was originally intended to fit larger plates. (Plates XIII, XIV, XIX, 1.)

Two bulls' heads, clearly from a similar cauldron, were found in the excavations of H. Rassam, at Toprak Kale, and are now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

This cauldron must be one of the largest metal vessels surviving from antiquity. Large cauldrons approximately of the present form are depicted

<sup>1</sup> R. D. Barnett, "British Museum Excavations at Toprak Kale," *Iraq*, XII, 1950, Pl. XVI.



as captured by the Assyrians in Babylonia <sup>1</sup> in the time of Sennacherib, and in Urartu (Muşasir), in the time of Sargon.<sup>2</sup>

(2) (Mus. Inv. 8823A.) Massive tripod-stand. Diameter 0·58 metres, height 0·66 metres. Made of rounded bars which are secured to one another and to a horizontal ring by rivets, the ends of which have been sawn off and smoothed down. At one point in the horizontal ring a piece about 4 cm. long has been inserted, as the circle as originally planned evidently proved too short. The bars rise in groups of three in the form of a  $\nabla$  from three heavy cast feet, each of which ends in a bull's hoof and is decorated with horizontal lines in relief. (Plates XIII, XIV, 2, and Fig. 1.)

The idea of using bulls' hooves on tripods is quite ancient. A triple bowl in clay from Til Barsip, c. 2000 B.C., shows it already in existence.<sup>3</sup> Tripods of this kind are not depicted on Assyrian monuments, unless the example from Muşasir is meant for this, shown in abbreviated form. It is, however, certain that they must have been known, for a bronze foot exactly like the feet of the present tripod was found in 1878 behind a sculptured slab in the Palace of Sennacherib, at Kouyunjik.<sup>4</sup> Again, in the "Room of the Bronzes", at Nimrud, Layard found fragments of at least half a dozen tripods made of bronze and iron, of which only the bronze portions now in the British Museum survive, the iron being mostly rusted away. With the



FIG. 2. Shield, side view.

aid, however, of the present example they may be reconstructed, and will be eventually shown to be very similar to it.

(3) (Mus. Inv. 11045.) Bronze shield, perhaps used as a lid for a cauldron. Its rim is broken off, but from its present edge it rises 10 cm. to a raised centre; maximum surviving diameter 0·55 m. On the inner side are attached a large handle of semicircular shape, tubular in section, and on either side of it two smaller clips in the shape of a letter  $\Pi$ . The handle is anchored at each end by three rivets, and the clips by two; the heads of these rivets rise in the form of studs on the outer surface of the shield.

Compare the shield from Toprak Kale, Barnett, loc. cit., p. 11, fig. 8. Layard found a pair of shields at Nimrud, in the Room of the Bronzes (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 193). These were somewhat similar, but did not rise to a pointed centre and lacked the  $\Pi$ -shaped clips. The diameter of the larger he reported to be 2 ft. 6 in. (76 cm.). This shield is now in the British Museum. (Plate XV, and Fig. 2.)

<sup>1</sup> S. Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib*, Pl. XLVII.

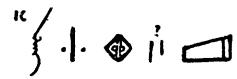
<sup>2</sup> Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, Pl. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Thureau-Dangin and others, *Tell Ahmar*, Fig. 9, Pl. XXV.

<sup>4</sup> B.M. 91252.

(4) (Mus. Inv. 10750.) Bronze vase with rounded belly, sharply offset from the neck, which in its turn has a small roll both at the lip and at its junction with the belly. The foot is raised to form a small ring base. Neck and belly apparently made all in one piece. There are two small holes on the shoulder  $\cdot 0075$  m. apart. There are holes in the lower part of the belly caused by rusting. Height  $\cdot 325$  m., diameter  $\cdot 36$  m. (Plate XVI, 3).

The purpose of the two holes on the shoulder is obscure. It is possible that they were intended for a string or thong to pass through for suspending or manipulating the vessel. Two similar holes, however, were bored in vases of exactly the same shape in clay found in the Urartian cremation burial-ground at Malaklyu, near Iğdir, on the north slope of Mount Ararat.<sup>1</sup>

(5) (Mus. Inv. 11046.) Bronze vase similar to last, but with the twin holes in the shoulder closer together. The under-belly has a large hole caused by rust, and part of the neck is lost. On the shoulder is incised an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs : "  a-wa-ku-x-tu. Height  $\cdot 375$  m., diameter  $\cdot 32$  m., diameter of neck  $\cdot 12$  m. (Plate XVI, 1, 4).

(6) (Mus. Inv. 10749.) Bronze vase similar to last, but neck made separately and secured to belly with rivets. These were attached from the inside and brazed on, and their points then filed down on the outside so that they are quite invisible. On the shoulder two drilled holes 7 cm. apart. The foot, though broken away by rust, survives. Height originally about  $\cdot 365$  m., diameter  $\cdot 37$  m., diameter of neck  $\cdot 14$  m. (Plate XVI, 2).

(7) (Mus. Inv. 10751.) Bronze vase as last. Neck and part of shoulder destroyed. Maximum surviving height  $\cdot 33$  m., diameter  $\cdot 35$  m.

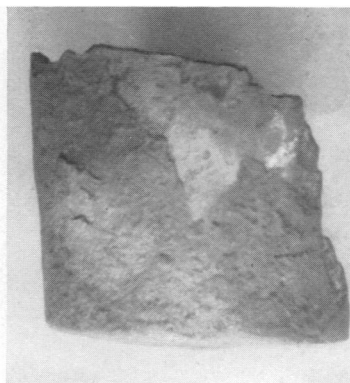
(8) (Mus. Inv. 10752.) Bronze three-footed stand of uncertain purpose, the top of which is fitted with loops. This object,  $\cdot 92$  m. high, rested on three feet shaped as sheeps' hooves. One, however, is now lost, and has been replaced by a model. (The horizontal reinforcement wires binding the feet to each other are modern.) At the junction of the three feet is a solid vertical member, cast and filed. On its under-side it is shaped as a hemisphere, decorated with flutes resembling an inverted bowl (this decoration occurs in a similar position on the Urartian tripod at Erlangen<sup>2</sup>). On its upper face this piece divides into five arms which act as sockets for five vertical bars fitted into them, one central, the others around it. These bars are held at their upper ends by an X-shaped horizontal member, through the ends of which they branch out to grasp four horizontal rings  $\cdot 12$ – $\cdot 13$  m. in diameter. The central bar alone rises through the middle of the X to hold a circular ring by means of four curved arms.

<sup>1</sup> Kuftin, *Urartskii 'Kolumbari' u Podoshvy Ararata i Kuro-araksskii Eneolit*, (*Vestnik Gos. Muzeia Gruzii*, XIII B.) Tiflis. [I owe to Professor Gordon Childe my thanks for making his copy of this work available to me. It is hoped to publish a summary of it elsewhere—R. D. B.]

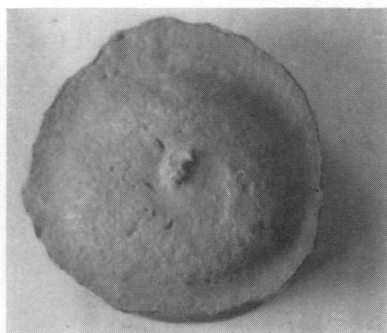
<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in Barnett, "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale" *Iraq*, XII, 1950 Fig. 13.



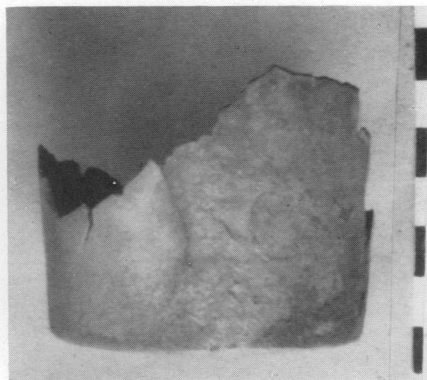
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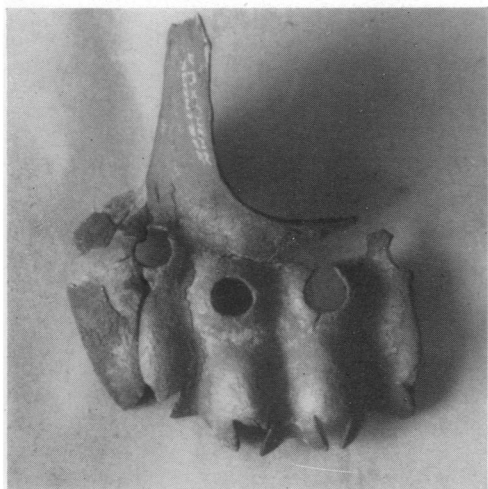
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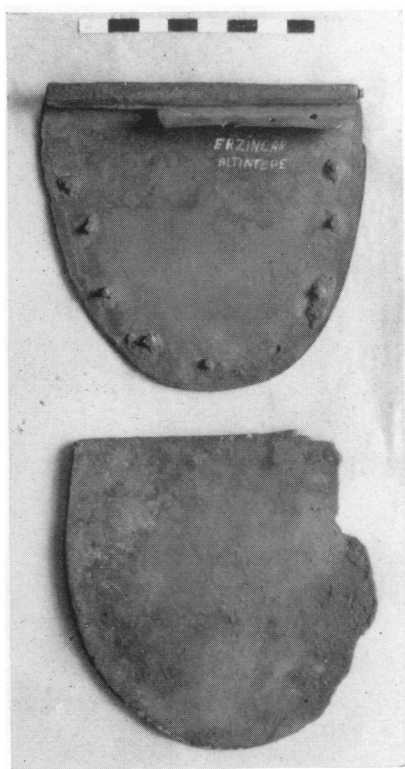


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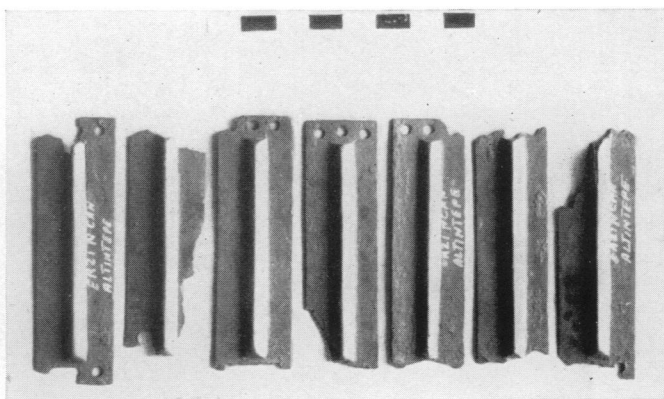


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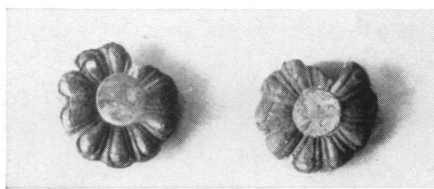
Cups of bronze (1) and silver (2-4) with lid and pieces of furniture (5-6) from Altun Tepe.



1



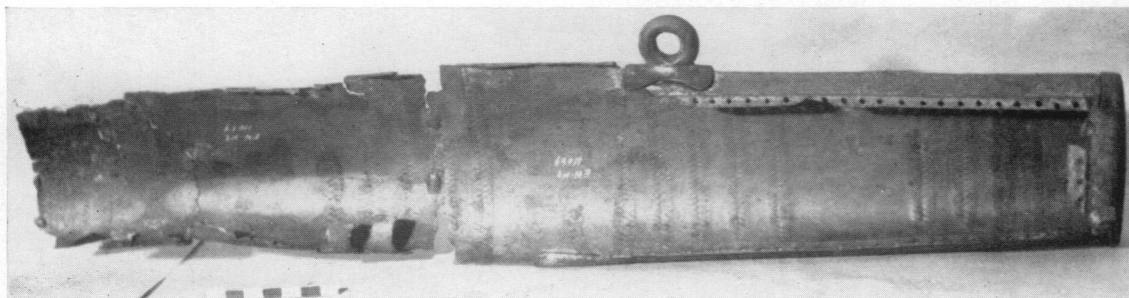
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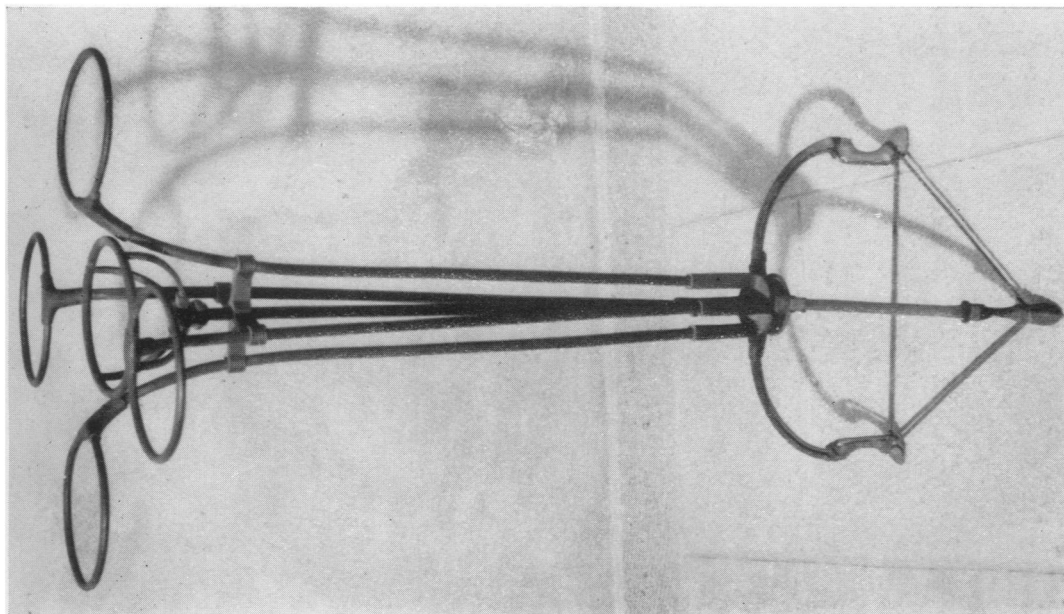
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(1) Cheek-pieces, (2) scale armour, (3) handles, (4-5) quiver from Altun Tepe.



1

1. Detail of cauldron.



2

2. Tripod stand.



each piece there are three holes for sewing it on to a background, presumably a jerkin of leather.

Size per piece :  $\cdot 078$  m. long,  $\cdot 024$  m. wide (Pl. XVIII, 2, Fig. 6, 1).

Scale armour seems to have been invented in north-west Syria in the Late Bronze Age. Scales somewhat similar in type, having a central raised

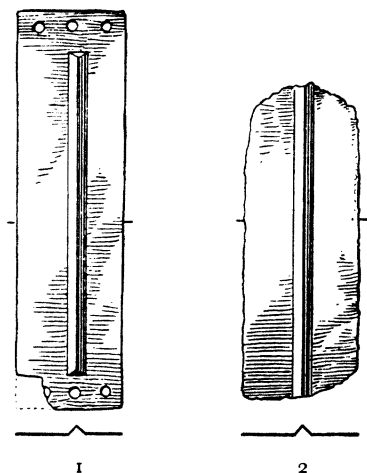



FIG. 6. Scale armour.

ridge on each scale, have been found at Nuzi, Atshana and Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> It is depicted as worn by Syrians on the chariot of Thothmes IV and by Assyrian soldiers on sculptures from Kuyunjik.

(21) Fragments of four pieces of iron scale-armour, much rusted. The scales are in this case rounded at one end. They possess the central raised ridge, but holes for sewing do not seem to have survived.

Size :  $\cdot 06$  m. long  $\times$   $\cdot 04$  m. wide (Fig. 6, 2).

(22) (Mus. Inv. 11049.) Quiver-case. In its present state of preservation this object presents the appearance of a long box, now  $\cdot 63$  m. long,  $\cdot 085$  m. wide and  $\cdot 045$  m. deep. In section it is almost almond-shaped. The whole of one long side was apparently once covered with some material made separately, perhaps leather, which was attached to a row of holes in the bronze. The almond-shaped ends were made separately but fitted to the long sides with small rivets. Along its length, on one side only, in the angle between the two long sides which thus form the point of the almond, there are traces of a long rod, perhaps of wood, now perished, which was apparently used to stiffen the framework of the object. This was especially necessary, as from this side it was suspended originally by two rings, of which one only survives, no doubt being slung from them round the body of the archer. It is decorated on the outside with a number of narrow bands of dog-tooth pattern  arranged in groups of five. This pattern recurs

<sup>1</sup> Starr, *Nuzi*, Pl. 126 and pp. 475 ff. ; Chariot of Thothmes IV : Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, Pl. 1. Cyprus : *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, II, Pl. CL ; IV, Pt. 2, pp. 132-3, Fig. 20 ; cf. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 231.



on the helmet of Sardur found at Karmir Blur<sup>1</sup> and on the silver object found at Ziwiye, also in granulation on a gold lion's head from Susa found in the foundation deposit of In-shushinak (Plate XVIII, 4 and 5).

A quiver found at Hassanlu, south of Lake Urmia, published in *Basitan-i-shenasi* (Teheran), Vol. I, 1951, p. 72, containing remains of arrows, is said to be .355 m. high and .09-.125 m. wide. This appears to have been bronze on the one side, with leather or a similar material, now lost, on the other. A quiver, also of bronze, of tubular shape but again faced along one side apparently with leather, was found at Karmir Blur.<sup>2</sup> It was decorated with eight incised bands showing chariots and ritual scenes and was .66 m. long. Egyptian arrows in the British Museum vary in length between .66 m. and 1.05 m.

(23)-(25) Remains of three frills in the form of hanging palm-leaves, originally the ornament from the legs of a bed or chair. They are poorly made of thin bronze sheet, and the central hole is not strictly central.

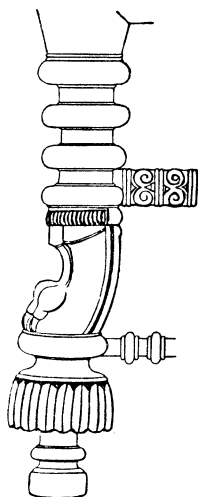


FIG. 7. Part of Persian throne.

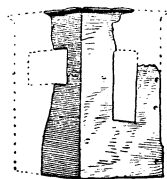


FIG. 8. Piece of ornament.

Diameter .09 m., height .04 m. (Plate XVII, 6).

(26)-(27) Remains of two feet from a bed or chair, in the form of lions' paws, also made of thin bronze sheet.

Maximum surviving width .085 m. (Plate XVII, 5).

(28) Numerous pieces of thin bronze sheet forming an ornament encasing furniture legs. Twenty-seven are more or less complete, four to six are more or less in fragments. These pieces, when put together four at a time, form a pattern of double volutes often represented on Assyrian furniture. They were originally nailed to the wooden cross-bars or legs of the piece of furniture by means of rivets, which are still visible on the inner side of the bronze. They have each a small offset rim which bears drilled dots, varying in number from one to four. These are obviously

<sup>1</sup> Barnett and Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq*, XIV, 1952, Fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup> loc. cit., Pl. XXXII, 1.



intended to indicate to the carpenter either the side of the object to which they belong or their relation to one another. A throne with decoration of this type was found at Nimrud, in the north-west palace. It appears to belong to the time of Sargon (B.M. 115502). A fragment of Persian sculpture showing all these decorative elements duly combined is also in the British Museum <sup>1</sup> (B.M. 118847) (Fig. 7, Plate XV, 3-5).

(29) Piece of casing with window-shaped pieces cut out and an offset rim, the whole shaped to form a right-angle. This piece is evidently intended to strengthen the joints of a piece of furniture. It has a row of rivet holes in the interior on one side.

Height .097 m. (Fig. 8).

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Von der Osten suggested in his publication that we have here the armour, equipment and tomb furnishings of an Urartian soldier whose military duties lay in guarding the east-west road from Erzurum to Erzincan. Whether this simple explanation, that the material comes all from one grave or chamber tomb, should be accepted to-day, is not quite so certain. The excavations conducted in 1913 by P. F. Petrov, at Malaklyu, on the north slope of Mount Ararat, disclosed a number of clay vases, similar to those found at Erzincan in bronze, containing incineration burials, while one alone was associated with an inhumation. Kuftin, in an important publication, recently drew attention to this excavation and proved that the cemetery in question was of Urartian date.<sup>2</sup> The possibility must therefore be borne in mind that the material from Erzincan represents not one but several inhumation or cremation graves, or perhaps a find of domestic or temple equipment.

These objects from Altın Tepe show with a few exceptions a very high degree of metallurgical skill, which we have learnt to expect from Urartian craftsmen. The exceptions are the remains of the chair or bedstead, which are of cheap, thin plating, whether because it was destined for the grave and thereby considered less important, or because metal was becoming scarce, we cannot say.

The use of Hittite hieroglyphs on two of the vessels is a remarkable detail. At Toprak Kale parts of the sacred throne of the god Haldi were found to be incised with hieroglyphs which, however, belonged to a system differing from the Hittite. The present examples are undoubtedly Hittite and not Urartian. It may be presumed that they are personal names and may indicate either that the vases inscribed with them were made in Hittite territory or perhaps that their owners spoke Hittite, or alternatively that Hittite influence had established itself at this date well beyond the frontiers where it originated. This is supported by the fact that two existing small basalt sculptures in a provincial Hittite style were recently

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<sup>1</sup> Barnett, *Iraq*, XII, 1950, Pl. IV, 2.

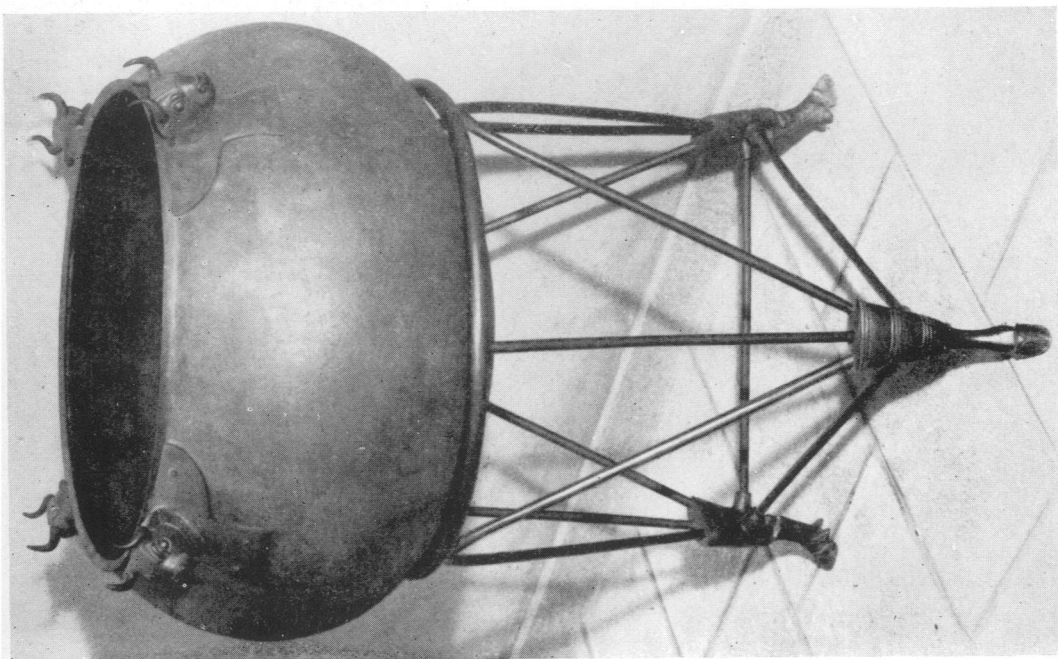
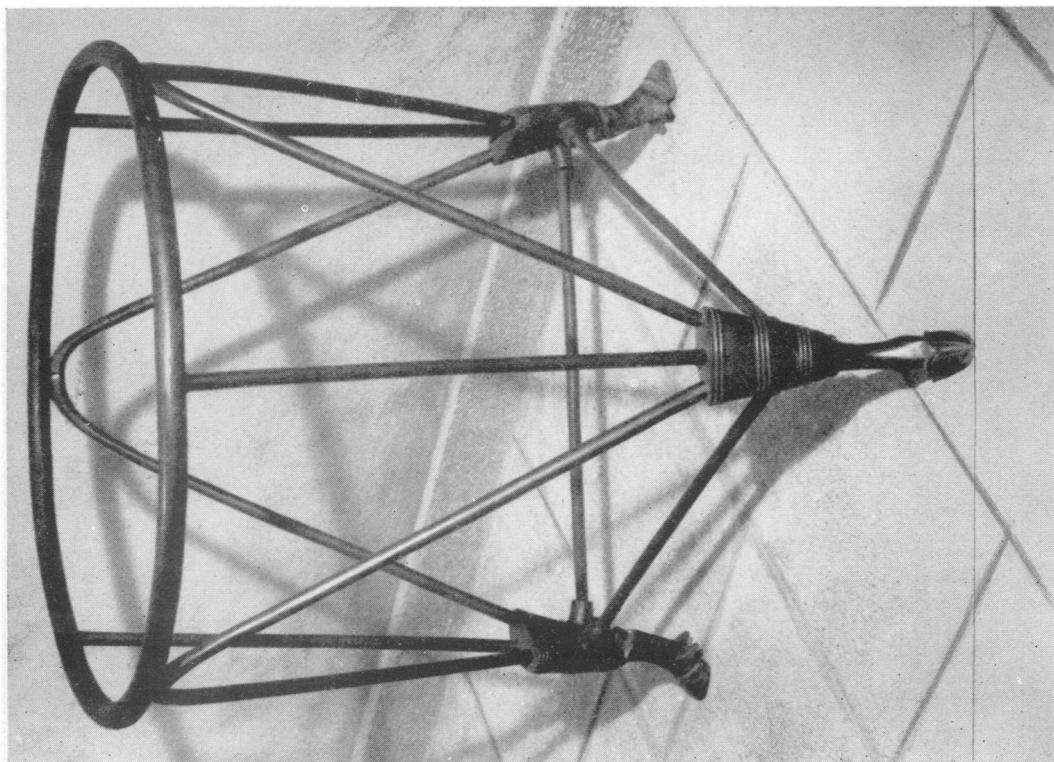
<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 100.

discovered at Erzurum and are now in the museum at Ankara. One represents a figure of a goddess walking, the other a roaring lion.

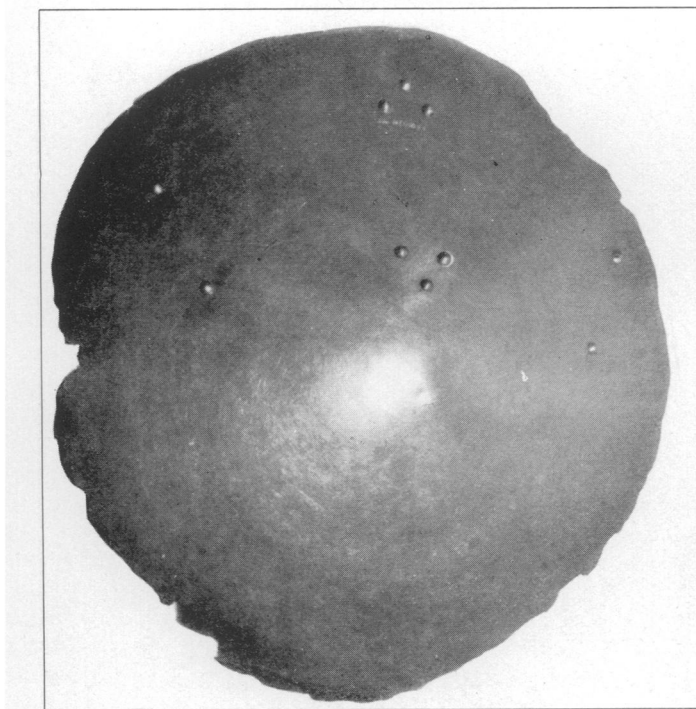
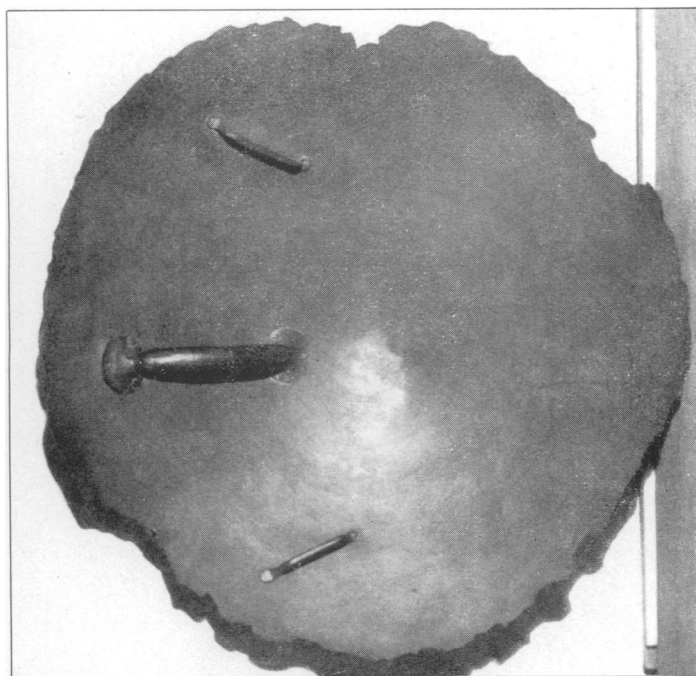
Regarding the date of these bronzes, we have not as yet very much by which to judge them. The bowl with the bulls' heads is very similar to that which must have existed at Toprak Kale, but of which only the bulls' heads survived. That piece was perhaps of the late 8th or early 7th century B.C. The style of the present bulls' heads is more summary. A good example of the Urartian skill in depicting these animals at their best is shown by a head formerly in the Brummer Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. But even this piece is not dated, and from discoveries at Karmir Blur, where a clay vase with bulls' heads was found, it is clear that the taste for this type of object continued till the end of the 7th century. The tripod has closest affinities in the style of its feet to the candelabrum found at Toprak Kale. Comparison has already been made with the furniture in the palace at Nimrud. The Hittite script would not be inconsistent with a date in the early 7th century, when the Phrygian kingdom (which used it) was at its height, before the Cimmerian invasion had taken place. All in all, a date in the late 8th or early part of the 7th century B.C. seems likely.



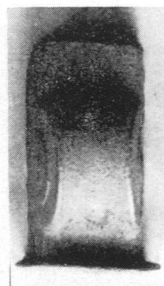
Uartian cauldron and tripod from Altun Tepe.



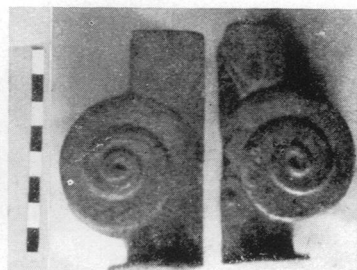
Urartian cauldron and tripod from Altun Tepe.



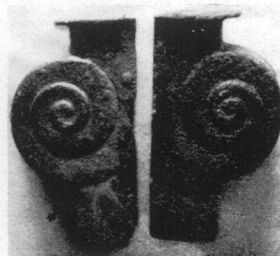
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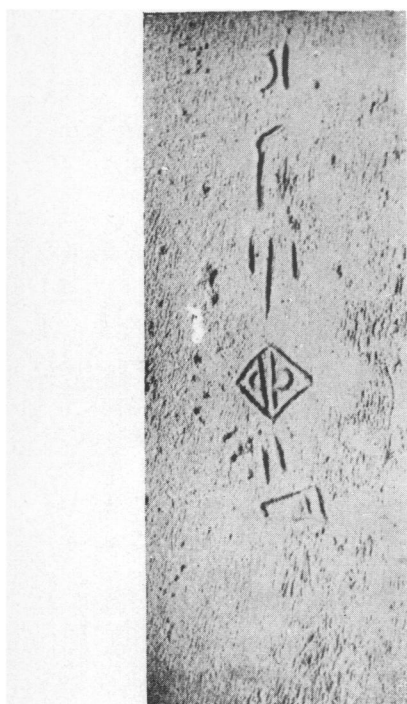


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1, 2. Two views of shield. 3-5. Fragments of furniture ornament, from Altun Tepe.





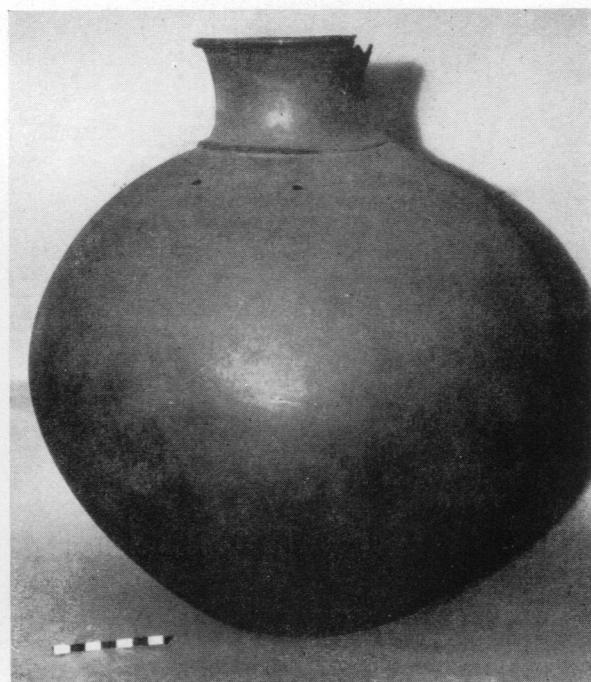
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2-4. Bronze vases from Altun Tepe.

1. Hittite hieroglyphic inscription on 4.

Karatepe, the Key to the Hittite Hieroglyphs

Author(s): R. D. Barnett

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# KARATEPE, THE KEY TO THE HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS

By R. D. BARNETT

## I. A SURVEY OF THE WORK OF DECIPHERMENT.

1. SCHOLARS who attempted the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphics<sup>1</sup> began their task with only slender hopes. They had, it is true, before their eyes the successes of their predecessors in solving the secrets both of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and of the Assyrian cuneiform scripts. But these successes had been made possible because in each case a ready key had been at hand in the shape of a bilingual. Until six years ago no bilingual equal to the Rosetta stone or the Behistun texts had been found for Hittite hieroglyphics and, except for the doubtful help accorded by the inscriptions on a seal or two, to which we shall return, the decipherers had to rely upon their own unaided intuition. It is one thing to elucidate the meaning of an unknown language when it is written in an already known script, such as the Etruscan: or when it is a more or less known language written in a mysterious character, such as turned out to be the case with the Assyrian (for the decipherers were much aided by the discovery that it was a Semitic language akin to Hebrew). But when neither the script nor the language nor their authors are known, when it is known neither what the signs are likely to mean nor what sounds they represent nor who spoke them, the task is indeed a hard one. The degree of success which was achieved in spite of all is sufficiently remarkable to deserve a brief description, since it is a feat which it was always said would prove impossible.

2. The history of the decipherment from its clumsiest beginnings to its relatively advanced phase in 1939 is almost spanned by the long career of a single remarkable man, Archibald Henry Sayce. His position in that history was peculiar. For though the first and foremost leader in the work, he lived long enough to see from afar before his death in 1933 the work achieved by others who had learnt from him, but he was not himself picked out by destiny to lead science into the Promised Land. He was born in 1845. Decipherment of unknown tongues was one of his favourite preoccupations

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<sup>1</sup> Originally delivered as a lecture before the Institute in London on 4th May, 1951. [For a brief account of the decipherment before 1922 and bibliography see Contenau, *Éléments de la bibliographie hittite* (1922), and *Supplément aux éléments de la bibliographie hittite* (1927); for bibliography since 1927 see Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphics* (1931) and *Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions* (1939); and Friedrich, *Entzifferungsgeschichte* (1939) (see p. 77 below). In this summary survey I have mentioned only those points in the history of decipherment which seemed to me particularly to have been fruitful. Such a selection is, of course, bound to be a matter of subjective judgment, with which many may disagree. It does not represent a complete bibliography of the subject, nor is it intended to do duty for a detailed analysis of the script and language. That is a task which still awaits tackling. But since as recently as last year an authoritative scholar was able to describe the Hittite hieroglyphs as "unread" (Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 41, but cf. p. 8), it is hoped that my Part II will help to dispel these illusions and show what has been done. In Part II I have ventured to include a few suggestions of my own, together with the review of those made by others—R. D. B.]



and, notwithstanding his poor eyesight and weak health, an endless stream of books and articles poured tirelessly from his pen. On Carian, Lydian, Cypriot, Vannic, Elamite and Sumerian inscriptions he was amongst the pioneers. It is not surprising that, when the Hittite hieroglyphics came to light—he was then at the height of his powers—they promptly arrested his attention, and retained it for the remainder of his life. His views about the Hittites, he informs us, were at first received *magno cum risu*; but the time came when certain of them at least won the respectful assent of the scientific world. He himself<sup>1</sup> admitted that much that he did was inaccurate, hasty and bad, but quotes in his defence a wise saying of Max Müller: “Remember that if you want to make discoveries you must be content to make mistakes.” In the sphere of Hittite hieroglyphics Sayce did both.

3. The history of the subject began in 1812 when a Swiss traveller, Burchhardt,<sup>2</sup> observed in a corner of the bazaar at Hama, the ancient Hamath, an inscription in what were then utterly unknown characters. For six decades the matter was ignored, but in 1870 two Americans, the local Consul-General, Mr. Johnson, and a missionary, Dr. Jessup, rediscovered this inscription and heard of three others, but were prevented from copying them by the hostility of the natives. In the following year Messrs. Drake and Palmer were sent by the Palestine Exploration Fund and succeeded in visiting them, and Captain Burton, the celebrated traveller, then H.M. Consul at Damascus, was able to publish some exceedingly rough sketches.<sup>3</sup> The natives of Hama, who have always been well known for their religious fanaticism and hostility to strangers, becoming jealous of the attention the inscriptions were attracting, were already threatening to destroy them so that there might be no further intrusions. Fortunately in 1872 a new Governor of Syria was appointed. This was Subhi Pasha, an educated and liberal-minded man. Hearing of the matter of the inscriptions, the Pasha promptly invited Mr. Kirby Green, the British Consul at Damascus, and the Rev. William Wright, an Irish missionary, also of Damascus, to accompany him to Hama. On their arrival, Wright set out to find the stones, and persevered in spite of the natives' evident displeasure. One stone was built into a house in the painter's quarter, a second into a garden wall. A third was in a little shop opposite the house of the French Vice-Consul, while a fourth lay free in the painters' quarter. This last was an object of special concern to the Hamathites since it was considered to possess remarkable magical properties. Persons suffering from rheumatism were accustomed to stretch themselves on it, and were impartially believed to obtain a cure thereby, whether they called upon Mohammed, St. George or the Virgin Mary.<sup>4</sup> Having found the stones, Wright wisely took no risks and caused the Governor immediately to have them protected by soldiers until he was ready to have them removed. With very great labour, amid scenes of great commotion, Wright succeeded in


<sup>1</sup> A. H. Sayce, *Reminiscences*, 1923, p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in Syria*, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> Drake and Palmer, *Unexplored Syria*, I, 335.

<sup>4</sup> Wright, *Empire of the Hittites*, p. 140.

having the precious relics extracted and carried off. Plaster casts were made and the originals then sent to Constantinople. One set of these historic casts is to-day in the possession of the Palestine Exploration Fund ; the other is in that of the Royal Asiatic Society.

4. The question of possession of the stones was now settled. The next problem was : Who were their authors ? Answers were suggested by three authorities. Dr. Hayes Ward, an American, drew attention to certain similarly inscribed seals found by Sir Henry Layard at Nineveh in 1849 ; the Rev. William Wright held on general grounds that they were the work of the Hittites, a great power known to have existed somewhere in Northern Syria, with whom the Egyptian Pharaohs entertained relations ; and Sayce independently arrived at a similar conclusion.<sup>1</sup> Certain facts were noticed in connection with the nature of the script. Dr. Hayes Ward pointed out that the texts were written in lines alternately directed from right to left, and from left to right.<sup>2</sup> To this method, familiar in early Greek inscriptions, epigraphists have applied the name of *boustrophēdon* " as an ox ploughs a field ". Again Sayce noticed that the signs were much too numerous to permit of the script being alphabetic ; it must instead be recognised as mainly a syllabary, that is to say, a form of writing in which each sign represents a syllable. Some signs, however, must be determinatives, that is, they explained the nature of the word which followed, but were not necessarily pronounced ; others, too, were probably not syllables but ideograms, or single signs representing a whole word. This system corresponded to that used in Mesopotamia by cuneiform script. Thus a single sign alone would be held sufficient to convey the word " god ", " city ", " king ", " queen ". Sayce concluded correctly (though his reasoning was somewhat precarious) that the language, whatever it was, was not Semitic. In regard to individual signs, Sayce was already able to make two fruitful observations. The opening sign of the majority of the texts represented a man pointing to his mouth. This Sayce found to be " I " or " we " ; and the frequently repeated sign  must, he felt, be some grammatical suffix.

As we have said, it was now generally assumed that the authors of these inscriptions were the ancient Hittites. In 1880<sup>3</sup> Sayce was able to put forward detailed arguments in support of this theory. It was well known from Egyptian sources of the later 2nd millennium that one of the centres of the Hittites' power in North Syria had been at a spot called Carchemish. In 1876 the site of this important city had been recognised by the ill-fated George Smith, of the British Museum, and by Consul Skeene, of Aleppo<sup>4</sup>—in the vast mound beside the Euphrates at Jerablus. Here were actually to be seen above ground inscriptions in the same characters as those from Hamath. The British Museum had accordingly caused some excavations to be undertaken there, in the course of which further inscriptions and some






<sup>1</sup> In a lecture read 2nd May, 1876 (*P.S.B.A.*, 1877).

<sup>2</sup> In this essay hieroglyphics for convenience are written only from left to right.

<sup>3</sup> In a lecture read 6th May, 1880 (*P.S.B.A.*, II, 1880, p. 76 ; *T.S.B.A.*, VIII, 1882, p. 248).

<sup>4</sup> The references are in Hogarth, *Carchemish*, I, p. 6.

sculptures were unearthed.<sup>1</sup> Sayce pointed to these sculptures and with much acumen and boldness stressed that their curious style reappeared on several sculptured monuments, hitherto somewhat neglected by scholars, dispersed over a vast area in Asia Minor, at Marash and Bulgar Maden in the south-east, Gâvur-Kalesi, near Ankara, Fraktin, Hüyük, Boghaz-köy, Yazili-Kaya, in Central Turkey, and Karabel, near Smyrna. The argument was clinched by the fact that the same mysterious characters as those of Hamath proved to accompany several of these sculptures in Anatolia. The only possible conclusion was that the Hittite Empire covered a much vaster area than had previously been supposed, from the outskirts of Smyrna, on the Aegean, in the west, as far as Hamath, on the Orontes, in the south, though it was perhaps not necessary to assume that all "Hittite" inscriptions wherever found were in the same tongue or the product of a single homogeneous people. These assumptions of Sayce's were, as we now know, almost completely correct; he was wrong only in assigning the sculptures of North Syria and Anatolia all approximately to the same date. We know now that they belong to different periods, although they all represent the same artistic and epigraphical tradition.

Sayce made certain further brilliant observations concerning individual signs: he pointed out that each of the sculptures in the remarkable procession of divine figures at Yazili-Kaya was accompanied by a short inscription, beginning in each case with the sign . This then must be the determinative sign meaning "god"—a most important discovery. He even guessed that the name which frequently followed it at Carchemish probably represented the name of the principal deity of Carchemish. He was in fact right, as it is the name of the goddess Kupapa; but unfortunately he later gave up this idea. Concerning individual syllabic signs, he offered several suggestions, the most important being that the signs , , ,  were all used as suffixes to nouns.

5. In November of the same year Sayce was able to make a discovery of even greater moment.<sup>2</sup> He recalled that some years before, a certain M. Alexandre Jovanoff, a coin-collector of Constantinople, had acquired in Smyrna a small silver plate having the shape of a segment of a hollow sphere. This object bore in intaglio the design of a human figure, certain strange signs and a cuneiform inscription. It had been published and described by Dr. A. Mordtmann,<sup>3</sup> but had disappeared and was consequently no longer available for consultation. Sayce, in a letter to the *Academy*, broadcast a request for information as to where the object might now be. Mr. Barclay Head, of the British Museum, replied saying that the original had been offered to the Museum in 1860. The Museum had refused it, suspecting from its strangeness that it was a forgery. Nevertheless, they had made an electrotype cast of it, which they still

<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions were published in *T.S.B.A.*, VI and VII; they reappear in Woolley and Barnett, *Carchemish*, Vol. III (1952).

<sup>2</sup> *P.S.B.A.*, II, 1880; *T.S.B.A.*, VII, 1882, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> *Münzstudien*, III, 1862, pp. 7-9 (Leipzig), and *Z.D.M.G.*, XXVI, 1872, pp. 3-4.

possessed <sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1). Sayce pointed out that the human figure in the centre of the plate wore a close cap and the turned-up boots by now associated with the Hittites. Beside him were five recognisable hieroglyphs, also



FIG. 1.

Hittite, while the whole was surrounded by a line of cuneiform writing. Here at last was the long-needed bilingual. The cuneiform text, which was considered to be in writing of the 8th century B.C., was read as follows :

𐎲 𐎠𐎼𐎶 𐎵𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶 𐎠𐎵𐎶

*Tar-rik-tim-me šar mat Er-me-e*

“Tarriktimme, Lord of the land of Er-me-e”.

Already Mordtmann had pointed out that Tarriktimme must be akin to certain strange barbaric names of natives of Cilicia, in southern Asia Minor, recorded in Greek literature in the form of Tarkondemos or Tarkondimotos. Apparently, as Sayce suggested, these names were composed with the element *Tarku*, which seemed to be the name of a Hittite god. Erme was concluded to be Arima, a range of mountains in Cilicia.

What then of the hieroglyphics? These were clearly legible as follows :



By a brilliant guess Sayce concluded that the last two signs which recurred in the text of Carchemish and Hamath were those meaning respectively “country” and “king”, corresponding to the words in the cuneiform. The remaining hieroglyphs must be the names “Tarriktimme”, “Erime”. These guesses for “king” and “country” were, in fact, perhaps Sayce’s greatest contribution. But with this the help which this little monument conferred was exhausted. Attempts to extract values for the remaining signs upon it proved unsatisfactory and hampered the decipherment for many years. They are still not wholly understood. In recent times <sup>2</sup> it has been suggested that the cuneiform really reads

<sup>1</sup> An example, said to come from Istanbul and acquired by the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, is thought by Miss Hall, who publishes it (*Archiv Orientalni*, 1937, p. 307), to be the lost original. Sayce, *The Hittites, the Story of a Forgotten Empire* (1925), p. 174, says he had heard it was then in a private collection in England.

<sup>2</sup> Ball, *P.S.B.A.*, 1888, p. 429, first pointed out that the cuneiform text really began with *Me-e*. Sayce, in *P.S.B.A.*, 1899, p. 204, eventually considered that the text meant “T., King of the Land of the City”. Albright, however, in *A.F.O.*, 1927, 137, was the first to suggest that the name was really *Tarqumuwa*, a name corresponding to Greek Ταρκιμωδς. But *mē* is no known language for “I am”, and to the present writer it seems more likely that the word *Mē-e* (?) is the name of the city, as originally supposed by Sayce. A possible reading of the hieroglyphs could be *Me-ra*, a country known from Hittite imperial records, or *Me-ta*. Dr. H. H. Figgulla plausibly suggests reading : *Tar-ku-me-te šar mat alu me-dan*.

somewhat differently from what had been supposed, namely : *Me-e tar-ku-mu-wa šar mat alu* " I (?) am Tarkumuwa, king of the land of the city ". The king's name is thus Tarkumuwa, not Tarkondemos, and the name of the country is not given at all. But even this interpretation is uncertain. It will thus be seen that to call this object the Rosetta stone of the Hittite hieroglyphs was something of an over-statement. Nevertheless, time confirmed that it had given us the true readings for three out of six of its signs, the syllable *Ta-* and the ideograms " country " and " king ". It had also shown that the script was, partly at least, ideographic.

6. The " Tarkondemos bulla ", as it was called, naturally evoked some stir and was energetically discussed. It was universally felt that it marked the beginning of a new phase. Yet in default of fresh material, limited speculations based on it were all that could be undertaken. Sayce himself got little further. He naturally attempted to apply his discovery of the signs for " Land " and " King " to the texts from Carchemish, and tried to find the word for " Carchemish ", which was to be expected in proximity to those two signs. By an unhappy chance he chose the wrong group for this identification. It was a wrong turning which Sayce hugged determinedly, but which mocked and misled his efforts during his remaining fifty years. A Dutch numismatist, M. Six, suggested to him (apparently verbally <sup>1</sup>) the right course, but unhappily his advice was not sufficiently appreciated.

7. Meanwhile real progress was being recorded in the collection of fresh material for study. W. H. Rylands, Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, drew attention to two objects from Mesopotamia, a seal in the British Museum, of Babylonian type, found at Nineveh, which bore the name of a deity in Hittite hieroglyphics <sup>2</sup>; and a bowl of basalt bearing a long inscription in the same writing, also in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> Further, in 1883-4 some (not very satisfactory) sketches were published of the inscription, known for some years, in the Mosque of El-Kikân, at Aleppo.<sup>4</sup> New discoveries in the field consisted of a second incised inscription at Bor, in Anatolia, and a text in raised letters on the back and side of one of a pair of carved stone lions, which had come to rest over the gateway of the town of Marash, in northern Syria.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.B.A.*, 1903, p. 142.







<sup>2</sup> *P.S.B.A.*, 1884, p. 228 (*M. XXXIX*, 10).

<sup>3</sup> *P.S.B.A.*, 1885, p. 154. This bowl, now B.M. 125004, is published by Messerschmidt in his corpus as nos. 3-4 and described as from Babylon. The *Guide to the Department of Assyrian and Babylonian Antiquities (British Museum)*, 1922, written by Sir Ernest Budge, describes it as found at Sippar (Abu Habbah). As stated by Gelb in *H.H.M.*, p. 10, there was no information which could be given in 1939 to show where the bowl came from or how the confusion originated. Since then I have learnt the following : it was brought back from Mesopotamia in the eighties of the last century by H. Rassam. Subsequently, however, when Budge went out there a few years later, he claimed to have obtained proof that the object was not, as stated by Rassam, from Babylon but from Sippar. The bowl was exhibited in evidence in the case in which Rassam sued Budge for slander. But Budge's proof does not seem to have been very convincing, for Budge lost the case.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1883, p. 146 ; 1884, p. 132.


<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 374.

8. This did not help the decipherment very much : it was always easier to find texts than to interpret them. One scholar attempted to develop the generally abandoned view that they were in a Semitic language,<sup>1</sup> but his essay did not lead very far. Of greater value was a work of the Rev. Dr. William Wright, the missionary to whose enterprise and zeal the recovery of the Hamath texts was in the first place due. In 1884 he published a general summary of the then state of knowledge, entitled *The Empire of the Hittites*, with illustrations of all the then known texts. This book is a landmark in the history of the subject, firstly because of its intrinsic usefulness at the time, secondly because it is the first major work ever published on the subject of the Hittites. Its modest aim, the review of what little was known, was excellently carried out. The partisans of the theory of a Semitic tongue were firmly repulsed, and a special chapter by Professor Sayce was included, in which that scholar's view was reaffirmed that the Hittites spoke and wrote an Anatolian tongue.

It was—correctly, as we now know—assumed that they had issued from their native Anatolia at an early date to conquer Syria, of which they were admitted to be the masters by Egyptian and Mesopotamian records of the late 14th and 13th centuries B.C. In his chapter, too, Sayce was able to register an advance at certain fresh points. Firstly, about the common sign . He had previously observed that it was an ending, evidently a case-ending of nouns. He now argued that it was the nominative case : and since the Hittite personal names preserved in Egyptian most commonly ended in “ s ” or “ sh ” he concluded that this sound corresponded with the sign “ s ”. Next, as to the sign  : since it was frequently added to the second of two nouns ending with the sign of the nominative, he guessed that it represented the particle “ and ” which united them. Finally he turned to the question of this people's gods. He drew attention on the one hand to the names of two kings in Southern Anatolia, known from Assyrian records in the 7th century B.C. : Šanduarri, king of Kundu and Siz, and Šandašarme, king of Hilakku ; on the other hand there was at Tarsus a local god Sandes or Sandon, who in Greek and Roman times was equated with Herakles and worshipped as the chief god of Cilicia. Clearly Sandes (or the like) was the name of the god in pre-Greek times too. It happened opportunely that a remarkable sculpture of a god of vegetation had recently been discovered at Ivriz<sup>2</sup> in the mountain passes of the Taurus. It was at least a plausible guess that this was a representation of Sandes. If so, the inscription carved beside him :  meant “ the god Sandes ”. This was not all. Names such as Šanduarri and Šandašarme showed that the god's name was often compounded in personal names. Could any example of this practice be detected in the hieroglyphics? Without

<sup>1</sup> Rev. C. J. Ball, *ibid.*, 1888, p. 439 ; 1887, p. 67 ; previously the view had been upheld by the Rev. Dunbar Heath and Mr. Hyde Clarke in the same journal and in *T.S.B.A.*, VII, 253, Hyde Clarke endeavoured to see in it connexions with South Arabian.

<sup>2</sup> Davis, *T.S.B.A.*, 1876.

difficulty Sayce found examples on Layard's clay sealings from Nineveh <sup>1</sup> and others from elsewhere stamped with hieroglyphs. Evidently these bore their owners' personal names and some of these included the sign for this god's name, Sandes, . Indeed, Sayce proposed that the stamps from Nineveh bore the very name of Šandašarme, who gave his daughter in marriage to Aššur-bani-pal, and might have been affixed to his actual documents or gifts.

9. Meanwhile ripples of interest in the subject were spreading from this island to the Continent, and scholars abroad began to take a share both in searching for more material and in attempting the decipherment. Sayce had always been most active in enlisting the co-operation of scientific explorers and had even tried to found a British School of Archaeology in Smyrna to further these and similar researches.<sup>2</sup> These schemes unfortunately never came to fruition, but a series of valuable travel expeditions was begun by Sir William Ramsay, who visited many of the known Hittite inscriptions and discovered others which were unknown. For their part, Germany, Austria, France and America sent expeditions into Turkey. In 1883 Humann and Puchstein discovered some new texts and sculptures at Marash <sup>3</sup>; Lanckoronski in the following year added another from the Konya district <sup>4</sup>; in 1883 Chantre made a tour of Cappadocia, visiting Boğaz-köy and photographing the important rock sculpture at Fraktin, in the Anti-Taurus mountains.<sup>5</sup> In 1885 an American expedition dispatched by the University of Princeton garnered fresh harvests.<sup>6</sup>

This acquisitive phase of Hittite studies, in which the number of known texts was very much enlarged, culminated in the publication by L. Messerschmidt in 1900 of a "Corpus" of Hittite inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> The material which had begun thirty years before with four texts at Hamath had swollen by international effort to thirty-seven large texts (apart from small objects or small fragments) from all parts of Asia Minor and North Syria. Later supplements of this useful work <sup>8</sup> brought the number of large texts to forty-two, while the received texts of several were vastly improved upon by fresh collations.

10. Continental scholars, too, were not lacking to take up the challenge of the decipherment. Like the English, they also speculated as to the family to which the language of the inscriptions belonged. All agreed that it was not Semitic. Peiser suggested that it was allied to Turkish <sup>9</sup>; Jensen <sup>10</sup> thought that it might prove to be related to the modern Armenian and

<sup>1</sup> Published by Perrot in *Rev. Arch.*, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> *Reminiscences*, 1923, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien u. Nord-Syrien*, 1890.

<sup>4</sup> At Kölit-öglü Yayla (*Städte Pamphyliens u. Pisidiens*, Vienna, 1890).

<sup>5</sup> Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Paris, 1890.

<sup>6</sup> *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1888.

<sup>7</sup> "Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum," *M.V.A.G.*, 1900.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, 1902 and 1906.

<sup>9</sup> *Die hethitischen Inschriften*, 1892.








<sup>10</sup> *Ž.D.M.G.*, 1894; *Hethiter und Armenier*, Strassburg, 1898.





11. The remarks of one of Jensen's critics, L. Messerschmidt,<sup>1</sup> are perhaps worth mentioning for themselves, as they pointed one way out of the general *impasse*. Firstly, he urged, only the most sparing use should be made of those scraps of information about the Hittites and native Anatolians which had survived the wreckage of time in the confused and vague recollections of the ancient Greeks, and which, in default of sounder stuff, scholars were fond of combing out of ancient classical literature. Secondly, he urged that the wisest course would be to look in Assyrian records for names of kings of Syria and Asia Minor, contemporary with these hieroglyphic inscriptions. Such names might then be found to occur in the inscriptions also and their readings would possess a certain prospect of plausibility. Already some scholars, such as Halévy, were beginning to apply this sounder method.

There remained in Jensen's work the mute evidence that something might be got by first finding out the general meaning of individual words, only afterwards drawing conclusions as to the sounds of which they were composed, and as to the branch of language to which they belonged. In other words, he had independently used Sayce's methods and confirmed their soundness. "I have had," wrote Sayce,<sup>2</sup> "for years to preach the doctrine that we must be content with graphic decipherment alone, classifying the hieroglyphs, identifying their various forms and determining the objects which they were intended to represent. Of a decipherment in the true sense of the word I had given up all hope unless fortune brought us a bilingual of some length." Jensen's work, in fact, confirmed that there still remained modest possibilities. Within those limits, in 1899, Sayce was able to grasp the gist of the inscription on the bowl from Babylon.<sup>3</sup> He

recognised in another place a fresh title, , and in the realm of grammar saw that  must be an ending of verbs (Hamath), and that the ending- , pronounced *-nas* occurring in "Tu-x-x-x-nas KING" (Bor) was an adjectival suffix, giving here the meaning "King of Tyana".  was *n*; Jensen's  was *ī* or *yā*; and  (occurring in the word for Tyana) was improved from Jensen's *t* to *tu*.<sup>4</sup>

Most unfortunately Sayce did not confine himself any longer within those limits which he had hitherto observed. It was the worst features of Jensen's work which now fascinated Sayce's somewhat volatile mind. So long as he adhered to the phonetic values of the signs, all was well; but now he proceeded to outdo Jensen in constructing, on a basis of purest conjecture, a word-for-word "translation" of the texts. He was already showing the loss of critical judgment to which would-be decipherers all too easily fall victims. Henceforth, almost sickeningly certain of the

<sup>1</sup> "Bemerkung zu den hett. Inschriften," *M.V.A.G.*, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *P.S.B.A.*, 1903, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, 1899, p. 269, 6; 1901, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, 1903.

rightness of his now quite unsystematic arguments, he plunged with each "translation" ever deeper into a quagmire of learned nonsense.<sup>1</sup> He was still able to do good service by drawing attention to discoveries of new texts and by publishing copies, but new contributions of any importance to the decipherment were to come from fresh minds and to be based on fresh material. Nevertheless, throughout all subsequent discoveries, Sayce's initial influence could be traced.

12. The Hittite hieroglyphics had now been available for a generation. Yet, in spite of all efforts, they had mostly kept their secrets. This was partly because the forty-two odd texts so painstakingly garnered during that time were, and remain even now, amongst the more difficult and refractory of the surviving material. In the period which followed those secrets were to be attacked from a new angle. It was now becoming customary to call in the new science of scientific excavation in the field to fill the gaps on knowledge which study in the library disclosed. Two such enterprises were now launched which in quite different ways were to bring a flood of new material. In 1906 the German Oriental Society, then presided over by the great historian Professor Eduard Meyer, sent out an expedition under Hugo Winckler to Boğaz-Köy (near Yazili-Kaya) which soon proved to be the capital of the Hittite Empire.<sup>2</sup> In 1908 the British Museum set about resuming on more modern lines the abandoned works at Carchemish, on the Euphrates. Each of these excavations was destined to throw light on the decipherment in different ways. While that of Carchemish directly helped matters by producing texts more amenable to decipherment than those till then available, the revelations at Boğaz-Köy threw more light on the background of the problems. The contribution of Bogaz-Köy lay in furnishing a partial solution of the first problem which we found plaguing the would-be decipherers of the hieroglyphics, the question, namely, what sort of language did the Hittites speak?

13. The excavation of Boğaz-Köy was no new idea in 1906. Sayce had in fact proposed it in the 1880s to Heinrich Schliemann, the discoverer of Troy, Tiryns and Mycenae.<sup>3</sup> Chantre had found tablets there. In 1905 Sayce had himself started negotiations with the Turkish Government to obtain a permit for Liverpool University to dig the site. But German science coveted the prize. The German Emperor was personally interested in the project, and as a gesture of friendship to him the Turkish authorities

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. *ibid.*, 1905, pp. 21, 191; 1906, pp. 91, 133; 1907, p. 207; 1908, p. 181; 1909, pp. 251, 329; 1911, pp. 43, 227; 1912, pp. 217, 279; 1913, pp. 6, 257; 1914, p. 233. By the time the Carchemish material (see below) was made available Sayce was too old to make any effective use of it to modify his system; consequently his articles, *J.R.A.S.*, 1922, p. 537; 1925, p. 207; 1927, p. 699; 1930, p. 756, read like voices from a long-past age. In justice, however, be it said that Sayce himself lamented that his work suffered for lack of colleagues who would or could aid or criticise it seriously.

<sup>2</sup> The same Society had already conducted excavations in 1888-1891 at Zincirli, well within the Hittite region of influence in Northern Syria, but as it happens no written records in Hittite script were found. The only other excavations in Hittite regions were those of the British Museum, at Carchemish in 1878, but these could not well be called scientific.

<sup>3</sup> *Reminiscences*, p. 220.

withdrew the British permit.<sup>1</sup> The Liverpool party, under Professor Garstang, which had already set out, generously paid a friendly visit to the German expedition and lent them some assistance before moving on to a site of their own, Sakca-Gözü, in Northern Syria. The wisdom of those who had advised excavating Boğaz-Köy was soon made manifest. Immense fortifications, stone-built temples, palaces and, best of all, hundreds of clay tablets, inscribed with the cuneiform script of Mesopotamia, began to appear. Little proof was needed that this was the capital of the Hittite Empire of the 2nd millennium B.C. The great quantities of inscribed tablets were evidently part of the library of the kings who ruled there. Yet no hieroglyphics were found.<sup>2</sup>

14. The advances in decipherment seemed like those of Alice in Looking-glass World : the straighter one thought to approach to a point, the further it receded. So with these tablets. Although they were written in the cuneiform of Mesopotamia which could be read, most of them could not be understood (except for isolated Akkadian words incorporated in the texts). The language of the tablets was evidently that of the Hittites, though their writing was that of Mesopotamia. Scholars at once concluded that the language of the tablets was the same as that written in a more native form in the mysterious hieroglyphics.<sup>3</sup> As the cuneiform variety of Hittite could be phonetically read but mostly not understood, and that of the hieroglyphics could not be read at all, the theory was hard to refute. The next step was to try to understand the language of the cuneiform. In 1915 a Czech Assyriologist, Bedrich Hrozný, then serving as an artillery officer, published <sup>4</sup> an essay of no little brilliance in which he proved conclusively that the language of the cuneiform belonged to the same Indo-European family as Greek and Latin, and sketched the beginnings of a translation ; the Hittites therefore must be at least partly Indo-European.<sup>5</sup>

The door was now unlocked by which specialists in the new language were enabled to spread out the garnered stores of precious information about the great Empire of the Hittites, its history, customs and religion.

15. So far, indeed, so good, and on the lines laid down by Hrozný

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, 327.

<sup>2</sup> Some seals and seal-stamps were found but not published until recently. See below, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Peiser (1892) and Sayce (*P.S.B.A.*, 1903, 283, 144) had already suggested this before the dig began on the strength of tablets similar to the present gleaned by Chantre in his visit to Boğaz-köy in 1883.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Sprache der Hettiter*, 1917. Sayce (*J.R.A.S.*, 1920) unfortunately rejected Hrozný's views and interpretation.

<sup>5</sup> The idea that the language was Indo-European was in itself not wholly new. The language of the few Hittite texts acquired by Chantre at Boğaz-Köy had on comparison been found to be identical with two curious letters included in the famous hoard of tablets from Tell-el-Amarna. These letters, of which one is from Amenhotep III to Tarhundaraba, King of Arzawa, and another from an unspecified Hittite prince, were called "the Arzawa letters", and as early as 1902 Knudtzon, the editor of the Tell-el-Amarna texts, had declared that on internal evidence the "Arzawa letters" were in an Indo-European language. But it was one thing to make a suggestion, another to work out the meaning, as Hrozný began to do.

the process of understanding the tablets was developed. As usual, it was soon found that the situation was less simple than had appeared. While it remained true that the language interpreted by Hrozný was the principal, indeed the official, language of the Hittite Empire, it was evidently not the only one. In 1919 Emil Forrer, a Swiss *savant* working in Germany, specifically distinguished six languages in use in the Royal Library.<sup>1</sup>

- (i) The Indo-European language which was evidently spoken by the ruling class and called *Našili*, perhaps meaning "the language of Nesa", a forgotten town of central Anatolia.
- (ii) *Hurlili* or Hurrian, an agglutinative language of non-Indo-European type. Texts in language of this sort, which are not yet fully understood, had been found in northern and eastern portions of Syria<sup>2</sup> and Mesopotamia.
- (iii) *Hattili*, an archaic non-Indo-European language which was evidently spoken in Anatolia before the advent of the Hittites,<sup>3</sup> perhaps of Caucasian origin.
- (iv) *Luli*, or Luwian, an Indo-European tongue, very close to *našili*, probably spoken in the kingdoms of Arzawa and Kizzuwadna, in the west or south of the Empire.<sup>4</sup>
- (v) *Pabilili* or Babylonian.
- (vi) *Palaumnili*, an Indo-European language used in the cult of the god Zibarwa of the city of Pala.<sup>5</sup>

Remains of the *našili*, of course, form 99 per cent of the library from Boğaz-köi. Of *hurlili*, *hattili*, *luli*, *palaumnili*, varying amounts survive: with which of these candidates then was the language of the hieroglyphics to be declared identical? Indeed, the answer has not yet been certainly given. Attempts, therefore, to read into the hieroglyphics the language of the cuneiform and to translate accordingly did not work.

16. Meanwhile the English excavators at the more southerly Hittite capital of Carchemish were finding almost the opposite of their German colleagues at Boğaz-köy. At Boğaz-köy there were enormous numbers of cuneiform clay tablets but virtually no hieroglyphic texts: at Carchemish exactly one clay tablet was found (it was not Hittite but Assyrian), but fair numbers of hieroglyphic texts. Another interesting point was that the finds at Boğaz-köy belonged to the Hittite Empire which was overthrown by some internal disaster in about 1200: while the inscriptions at Carchemish

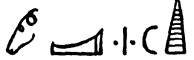
<sup>1</sup> "Die Acht Sprachen der Boghaz-köi Inschriften," *S.P.A.W.*, 1919, *M.D.O.G.*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See Speiser, "Introduction to Hurrian," *A.A.S.O.R.*, Vol. XX (1940-1), and review by Sidney Smith, in *Antiquity*, December 1942.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes called "proto-hittite" or "hattic". See Güterbock, *K.U.B.*, XXVIII, and E. Laroche, "Études protohittites," *Rev. Ass.*, 1947, pp. 67-98.

<sup>4</sup> See Rosenkranz, "Die Stellung des Luwischen im Hatti-Reiche," *Indogerm. Forsch.*, LVI, 1938, and Bossert, *Asia*, pp. 90-114. According to Forrer it was people who worshipped the gods Tarhu and Sandon who spoke Luwian, and it was to Luwian that the numerous Anatolian and Greek place names in *-assos* and *-anda* were to be assigned (*M.D.O.G.*, 61, p. 23).

<sup>5</sup> See Otten, "Zum Palaischen," *Z.A.(N.F.)*, 14, Vol. 48, 1944, and Bossert, *Ein Hethitisches Königssiegel*, Ch. III.

appeared to belong to a period some time after this, when the city had been fought over, burnt and resettled by an immigrant population, probably from Anatolia, who appear to have introduced the extensive use of the hieroglyphic script. The excavations of 1911 chiefly centred round the "Sacred Way", which Boscawen had found to be lined with sculpture and inscriptions, and produced one long text.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent campaigns produced several more inscriptions from the "Sacred Way". The effect which this newly increased material could have, particularly on a fresh mind, was soon shown. R. Campbell Thompson, a cuneiform scholar, then of the British Museum, having taken a large share in the excavations, felt moved to take up the study of the hieroglyphics. Going back to the point where Sayce had stood in 1903 he attempted to evolve a fresh, though eclectic, system of decipherment of his own.<sup>2</sup> Immediately the decipherment, which had become clogged and immobilised from fallacies, like a frozen river, began to show signs of thawing into life. As it happened, the greater part of Thompson's system was as wrong as any other. He based it on the false assumption that the language of the hieroglyphics was the *našili* of the cuneiform; and he threw overboard Six's important identification of the correct group for the name of Carchemish, which Sayce had eventually accepted.<sup>3</sup> But if he failed to make good use of the new material from Carchemish, he had more success with the old from Hamath. In the group which Jensen had suggested was to be identified with Hamath, but had not analysed,  *x-tu-wa-na* city, the values *x-tu-ana* were already legible from their occurrence in the name *Tu(w)anu(w)anas* "Tyanean" p. 62. Thompson drew the conclusion that the first sign was *Ham* or *Am*, reading the word as *Am-tu-wa-na* "of Amtu" (Hamath).

Actually he and Jensen had failed to quote the group in its entirety, assuming that its first letter belonged to the word before. It was properly *a-ma-tu-wa-na* CITY, the value of the missing initial sign being *A*, and of the second, *ma*, not *am*. But Thompson's next success was when he pointed to the name which recurred in three of the Hamath texts: *x-x-x-na* KING, of which so far only the ending *-na* was legible. Might not this name be identified with *Ur-hi-li-na*, the powerful king of Hamath who opposed the Assyrian Shalmaneser III in the 9th century B.C.? The theory was supported by the most rickety arguments, but the guess was correct and gave us three new sign-values, for *u(r)*, *hi* and *li*. He followed up his discovery in another inscription, the Marash lion. In the 9th century B.C., to which the association with Urhilina suggested that these inscriptions should be assigned, Marash stood in a district called by the Assyrians Gurgum. Now the king of the city mentioned on the lion was called Mutallu, recognised by Thompson as "belonging to the city of

<sup>1</sup> A. 11a. For report of this season see *The Times*, July and 9th October 1911; Hogarth, "Hittite Problems and the Excavations at Carchemish," *Proc. Br. Ac.*, December 1911.

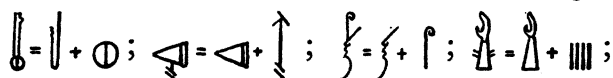
<sup>2</sup> R. C. Thompson, "A New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphs," *Archaeologia*, XLIV.

<sup>3</sup> *P.S.B.A.*, 1903 (see above, p. 58).

*x-x-am*”, taking the value of the third sign as *am* from his partly erroneous reading of *Am-tu* for Hamath. The first sign, which was repeated, was then easily guessed to have the value *gu*, giving *gu-gu-am-a-na-x* city. Since it is actually *gur-gu-ma-wa-na-as*, Thompson was not far wrong. His identification of the correct group for the name Urhilina led him to make the important discovery that personal names such as this were usually indicated by an oblique tag, ~, before them. Lastly, conclusive proof was clearly emerging that the script was *syllabic*, that is, the signs usually possessed the value of a syllable consisting of a consonant and vowel. Thompson’s discoveries confirmed the truth which Messerschmidt laid down in 1898 that the safest road was by the identification of personal or ethnic Hittite names preserved in contemporary—in practice this meant Assyrian—records. Thompson’s instant success was due to the good judgment with which he applied this principle.

17. Sayce’s mantle fell still more squarely on the shoulders of another English scholar, Dr., later Sir, A. E. Cowley, a distinguished orientalist and Bodley’s librarian. The first series of inscriptions from Carchemish was published in 1914.<sup>1</sup> In 1917–18 Cowley published the discoveries he was able to make amongst them in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and in the set of lectures which he delivered before the British Academy.<sup>2</sup> Cowley had the advantage over his predecessors both by the possession of this new material and by being more careful and systematic and, at the same time, less over-ambitious. The unproved assumption that cuneiform Hittite was the language of the hieroglyphics did not convince his judicious mind. “That cuneiform Hittite should be allied to the hieroglyphic language is to be expected, but the relation is not yet proved. To decide the extent of it we must wait till more of the cuneiform Hittite language is published.” Cowley was personally readier to connect the hieroglyphics with Vannic, Cassite or Mitannian. Turning to the texts, he was able to point out that the preamble of the Carchemish inscriptions was a regularly repeated formula of which one or two factors such as the signs for “king” and “city” were already known. This preamble must be something as follows<sup>3</sup>: “Thus says X, priest of So-and-so, King of Carchemish, Great King, (son) of Y, Great King: I have dedicated . . .” This, as it happens, was nearly but not quite right. It should be: “I am X, priest, Lord-of-the-land of Carchemish, son of Y, Lord of the Land.” Cowley had mistaken the word for “son” in the original to mean “dedicated”, and had assumed the necessary word “son” to be understood. He had wisely followed Sayce and Six over the word for “Carchemish” but abandoned Jensen’s “I am”. But in the field of the individual signs he made many fruitful observations:

(i) That two signs might be combined into a monogram thus:











<sup>1</sup> Hogarth, *Carchemish*, Pt. I, 1914.


<sup>2</sup> Cowley, *The Hittites* (Schweich Lectures), 1920, see also *J.R.A.S.*, 1917.


<sup>3</sup> op. cit., p. 72.










(ii) That two or more signs might be interchanged in different spelling of the same word, and therefore possessed similar or identical values : thus









 could be substituted for  ;  for  ;  for  or  (s).<sup>1</sup>

(iii) That since the common sign  was sometimes omitted in similar spellings of the same word, it was probably a helping-vowel, such as ā, and might be dropped after a syllable which already ended in a similar vowel-value.








(iv) That when two or more words were closely connected, “ the last sometimes has the ending  , which would thus seem to be an enclitic conjunction in some cases, like the Latin -que.” (It was already recognised by Sayce to be the particle “ and ”.)






(v) That for not very obvious reasons,  was *p*.

(vi) That since sentences often began with the word     , of which the end was legible as *-me-a*, and the Arzawa text began with the Sumerian loan-word UMMA “ thus ”, they might be the same, and  = *u*. The premise was wrong, the conclusion as to sound nearly right, for though    means not “ thus ” but “ and me ” or “ my ”,  has the value *wa*, and *w* and *u* are much akin.

(vii) The oblique tag  attached to certain letters had the value “ *r* ”, notably in the name        (Kar-ga-me-sa-ia-s CITY) “ the city of Carchemish ”.

(viii) Attempting to read some form of *Markasi*, the ancient name of the city of Marash, into the text of the Marash lion, he wrongly picked upon the group which we now know to be not the city's but the king's name, Muwatallis. Nevertheless, by reading it as *Murkass* he stumbled on the correct value of its first sign as *Mu*. It occurred in the names of two peoples

mentioned elsewhere in the Carchemish texts        *Mu-sa-ia* CITY

and      *Mu-s-ka-ia* CITY. The value of the first syllable had been all that was needed to give him their correct reading, and these he saw must be Mysians and Moschians, both known peoples of Anatolia. Cowley possessed the decipherer's instinct for the right solution, although his arguments were often wrong. It is strange that in the circumstances he appears to have found no use for the genuine discoveries of Thompson.<sup>2</sup>



18. The tempo of the decipherment was now accelerating, but the scene of further efforts was transferred to Germany. An Assyriologist, Carl Frank, contributed the next step in 1923,<sup>3</sup> improving on Cowley by a more systematic and orderly analysis of the material which perhaps the


<sup>1</sup> Halévy had already noticed that two of these signs were interchangeable, but assigned them a wrong value. Jensen had added a fourth equivalent, *vid. supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Had he not ignored them he would almost certainly have been able to correct Thompson's *gu-gu-am* to *gurgum*.

<sup>3</sup> “ Die sogenannten hethitischen Hieroglypheninschriften,” *Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVI.

study of cryptography during the Great War had shown to be the best method. "When one approaches inscriptions in an unknown script and tongue," Frank summed up, "it is best first to look if personal names, whether specially indicated in some fashion or not, can be distinguished, especially, too, those of countries, towns, rivers, etc. The beginnings and endings of the texts deserve note, and finally the medley of signs itself must be studied to see whether groups of signs separate themselves out of the chaos, and recur perhaps with variations, so that the text can be divided up and the single groups studied by themselves. Not all these avenues will always be open; the two last will be mainly more so than the first. Meanwhile the question in what language the text is written can be entirely ignored at the start." In accordance with this programme Frank compiled most useful lists of names of gods, persons and places. Unfortunately what Frank made up in diligence he lost in lack of intuition. He proposed a system of transcription for the signs which rejected most of the important discoveries of his predecessors.<sup>1</sup> His interpretation of the names collected were consequently very wide of the mark. Frank also discussed the question, what the language of the texts might be. It was most improbable that it was the *našili* of the cuneiform tablets. The hieroglyphics were after all rarest in Anatolia itself, but commonest in Northern Syria. Yet if they contained the native tongue of Hittites of the 2nd millennium, as this theory held, was it not extraordinary that they should be so scanty in the Hittites' native home, and most abundant only in their most newly acquired provinces? Of the remaining languages of the Empire, *hattili*, or Proto-hattic, could be ruled out, since it was known to be formed by the use of prefixes and that of the hieroglyphics was not. Luwian was not very likely. Palaite was only possible because almost absolutely unknown. But the view he preferred was that it was Hurrian which was now known to have been spoken over a wide area, from the Taurus almost down to Palestine, and the hieroglyphic script, it was suggested, was the invention of the Hurrian peoples. In spite of his meagre success, Frank's useful labours entitle him to a place in the dynastic succession of the decipherers. His fate was chiefly to be the preparer of material for others to use. His successors, Meriggi, Forrer, Bossert and Hrozný, utilised his compilations and brought to their task the spark of intuition which he had lacked.

19. Piero Meriggi, an Italian lecturer at the University of Hamburg, wrote his article in 1928, but did not publish it till 1930.<sup>2</sup> Much like Frank, he grouped and analysed the signs and noticed several things: while ideograms were properly indicated by the sign , this could sometimes be omitted; ideograms normally consisted of but one sign, yet at times they consisted of a pair, treated as a single compound. Rarer signs marking an ideogram were . This last was also used (i) to indicate

<sup>1</sup> He made one apt observation. The symbol  had been considered to be simply the number 9. Frank pointed out that it occurred so often than it must have some other value. It has, in fact, the value *nu*, perhaps the first syllable of some word such as *nuwa*, Indo-European for "nine".

<sup>2</sup> *Z.A.*, 1930.



personal names, (ii) as an independent sound which Cowley had rightly taken as *r*. But Meriggi's most important contribution concerned the word

𐎠𐎼𐎶, most frequent in the openings of the inscriptions, among the names and titles. It was, he pointed out, the word for "son", hitherto looked for in vain. Cowley had missed it because he took this group for a title. The donor of the inscription evidently regularly gave his father's and grandfather's names and described himself as "So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, son of Such-another". In one inscription, the Marash lion (M XXI), the phraseology was different: there it was clearly "So-and-so, son of So-and-so, grandson of So-and-so, great grandson, etc.", and the appropriate words 𐎠𐎼𐎶, 𐎠𐎼𐎶𐎵, 𐎠𐎼𐎶𐎵𐎶, etc., were clearly connected by the fact of all possessing the same ideogram.

20. This discovery of Meriggi<sup>1</sup> was like the last touch which is necessary to start an avalanche. Following upon it progress in discoveries was rapid and revealed firm ground beneath. As usually occurs in these cases, what one man discovers another puts to account. Emil Forrer, as we have said, had made a special study of the new cuneiform Hittite texts from Boğaz-köy. Some years before he had startled the scientific world by discovering in them references to a great power called Ahhiyava, living to the west of the Hittite Empire who, he claimed, were to be identified with the Greeks, the Achaeans of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Forrer now turned his attention to the subject of the Hittite hieroglyphics and delivered to the Orientalist Congress, of September 1931, at Leyden, a lecture<sup>2</sup> on the subject which must rank as the most brilliant treatment of it since that other lecture of fifty years before, which Sayce gave to the Society of Biblical Archaeology in 1880 and laid the foundation for the serious study of the hieroglyphics. Forrer began by stressing that to understand what a picture-script was describing was one thing, but to find the true sound values of the signs was another and was less important. (There was nothing new in


<sup>1</sup> The correct group for "son" was curiously enough stumbled on almost simultaneously, apparently independently, by P. Jensen, who now returned to the contest after many years of retirement with a long and otherwise not very progressive article ("Weitere Beiträge zur graphischen Entzifferung der sogenannten Hettitischen-hieroglyphen-inschriften", *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, I, 1930). Jensen here is still hampered by his obsession that each sign represents an ideogram for an entire word, not a phonetic syllable. Thus a group of signs which we now know to consist of syllables representing particles, case endings, etc., for him was a list of titles and honorifics. While his argument might be partially true of certain primitive or abbreviated forms of the script it was demonstrably false as a guiding maxim and led nowhere.

<sup>2</sup> For this lecture see *Actes du VIII Congrès Int. des Orientalistes*, p. 47. This lecture formed the first part of his work and was fully published in *A.J.S.L.*, XLVIII, 1931-2, pp. 137 ff. The second part was delivered as a lecture in Geneva on 15th March 1932. Both appear together as *Die hethitische Bilderschrift*, Chicago, October 1932. Forrer asserts that he did, in fact, think out all the points in those articles as early as June 1923, but that time prevented him publishing them before. But this claim is quite irrelevant. What matters in any claim to priority of discovery is the date of publication. Meriggi, in a long article in *R.H.A.*, IX, 1932, claims feelingly that Forrer had plagiarised Meriggi's idea from a lecture which he, Meriggi, gave to the Vth Congress of German Orientalists at Bonn in 1928.

this.) Further, that if one could but get a reasonably well-founded notion of the contents of a text, one could proceed to see the functions of the individual words, their relations with one another, their syntax and their grammar. Herein lay Forrer's special contribution. He proceeded in an orderly series of steps :

(i) Comparing portrait sculptures with the inscriptions which, as for example at Carchemish in the "family procession", usually accompany them, he pointed out that the personal name beside each figure was preceded







by the group  $\uparrow \cap$  or  $\uparrow \cap \text{wa}$  or  $\uparrow \cap$  is must therefore be "this" <sup>1</sup> and  $\text{wa}$ , *pa-wa* enclitic separable particles, the whole phrase being "this (is) So-and-so".

(ii) In certain of the signs the pictorial element was more clear than others, in particular, there were several which came first in their word and whose meaning might be guessed from their appearance, or if they followed “this”, from the object on which they were written. Thus  on






















[illegible]

Fig. 2. Forrer's diagram of parallel curse-formulae (from Carchemish and Bulgarmaden inscriptions).

<sup>1</sup> Jensen has pointed most of this out many years before (see above, p. 61, § 10).

a stele must mean "this monument"<sup>1</sup>     on the stone bowl in the British Museum, "this (stone) bowl."  which recurs with other words evidently meant "hewn", "worked". So, too, , occurring in an inscription from the gateway at Carchemish was the word for "gateway". Such signs were clearly ideograms.

(iii) Following the advice of Frank, Forrer paid special attention to the beginnings and also the ends of royal inscriptions, the composition of which was so much alike in many cases that one could speak of them as formulae.

21. The opening formula was now already elucidated in its outlines thanks to Cowley, Meriggi and others. It usually began "I am X, King of Such-and-such a country, noble (?), son of Y., king of the country". There often followed the words                        

‘ If a prince does not respect my words, which I have written in my inscription, despises my curses, does not fear the curse of the god, wipes out the law which I have given, confounds my words, alters my monument, expunges my name, and inscribes his own name ; or because of those curses causes another to do it, whether king or lord, prince or noble, may Anu, the great father of the gods, who has ordained my rule, take away from him the glory of kingship, break his sceptre, and curse his fate . . . ’




and then follow forty-six further such sentences of imprecation. Was not something of this kind to be discerned in the concluding formula of the hieroglyphics ? ” The spirit of the time, Forrer points out, causes such texts in all the ancient Near East to take like forms under the circumstances, irrespective of boundaries of speech and script.



With unerring assurance Forrer picked out for a start the sentence corresponding to Hammurabi’s “ be he a king or a lord, prince or noble ”. This was the sentence in the hieroglyphics :






















*ma-n* KING-*da-S* *ma-ba-wa-s* LAND-TITLE-*s*



“ whether he be a king, or be a prince of the land . . . ”

Then for the main part of the curse. That of Hammurabi was a conditional sentence : “ whoever does so-and-so, may the gods punish him.” So, too, with the Hittite. The subject of the second half, “ the gods,” was plain to see,  . The sign  must then signify the nominative plural. The

last word of the sentence, ending regularly in  or , -*da* or -*tu*, must be the verb in the imperative. Evidently this was an Indo-European tongue which had an imperative of this form, like Greek  $\xi\sigma\tau\omega$ , Lat. *esto*. There were other facts pointing to the same conclusion. The word which ushered in the sentence “ may the gods punish him ” was either FACE-*pa-pa-wa*, *pa-da-pa-wa-ta-x* or *wa-tu-ta-x*. *Pa-wa-x*, *pa-wata-x*, were enclitic participles, FACE-*pa* or *pa-da* to which they were attached, must be “ him ” or “ to him ” in the dative or ablative case. Similarly *wa-tu* must be another pronoun in the dative case, like the Greek  $\tau\phi$ . Other features suggesting that this was an Indo-European language were the ablative in -*da* and the passive participle in -*mes*, exemplified in X-*i-mes* ( “ beloved ” ) above.

The other half of the curse “ whosoever does so-and-so ” was introduced by the word                     

would prove impossible. Indeed, there was even more evidence. The name of a god was frequently preceded at Carchemish by the expression

 *me-a-x-s X-na-na-s*; the second word being a title found commonly in the preambles, "lord," the first could hardly be anything but "my" and be akin to the Latin *meus*. Again, the first word  *x-mu* of the preamble at Bulgar-Maden must be "I" and be akin to Latin *me*, Greek ἐμὲ and cuneiform Hittite *ammug*. In the word *ku-ma-n*, too, he recognised "when", akin to the Latin *cum*.

22. Nor was this all. Some years before, the German excavators of Aššur, the capital of Assyria, found seven little rolls of lead concealed beneath the floor of an Assyrian house.<sup>1</sup> When unrolled, they proved to be covered with texts incised in Hittite hieroglyphs. Forrer pointed out they all began with a similar preamble. He took them to be letters, and judged the formula to mean "Behold, to So-and-so . . . speak!" This is in keeping with the usual phraseology of Babylonian letters, which were thought of as *aides-mémoire* for a scribe who read them out to their recipient. It is certainly not far wrong, though the rest of the texts still remains most obscure.<sup>2</sup>

23. What could now be said as to the identity of this mysterious language? It was Indo-European and therefore akin to the cuneiform Hittite. Certain features in it resembled those of Luwian. In each the first person singular of the past tense ended in *-ha*, and there was a possessive ending *-sas*. But Forrer did not press the view that this script and Luwian were the same, instead he preferred to call the language of the hieroglyphs "Tabalian", after Tabal, the Assyrian name for the neo-Hittite kingdom in Cappadocia and the district north of the Taurus.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see, there was something in favour of the Luwian hypothesis.

24. We have given some reasons why in our view Forrer, for his originality, insight and succinctness of exposition, should receive the palm for genius in decipherment. Yet, even so, it was not won without the dust of competition. The conjunction of the stars about this time seems to have been singularly fortunate for hieroglyphic studies. An American, Ignace J. Gelb,


<sup>1</sup> Andrae, "Hethitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur," *W.V.D.O.G.*, 1924. The latest edition is by Bossert and Steinherr, "Die Bleibriefe aus Assur," in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, VIII (1951).






<sup>2</sup> It must be noted that this suggestion was published before him by Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, I, p. 72, in December 1937.

<sup>3</sup> The idea had already been put forward by Sayce (*J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 962) that this script was connected with the Moschi, a Phrygian people closely associated with the Tibareni, who settled in southern central Anatolia and called it Tabal. The evidence for this connexion of the script with the Moschi, as advanced by Sayce, was very slender, depending on a chance mention of that people in the Carchemish texts. But as this mentions them almost certainly as an outside, foreign power, so the script cannot be Tabalian, though a local form was current in Tabal in the 8th century (see below, p. 92). The fact that numerous inscriptions in hieroglyphs were soon found which belonged to the Hittite Imperial period, before the advent of the Phrygians, has since rendered the Tabalian argument pointless. Another wilder idea of Forrer's was that the inventors of the hieroglyphs were Pelasgian.

read an important paper <sup>1</sup> on the subject at the same Orientalist Congress as Forrer. Whereas Forrer had attacked the general sense, Gelb was concerned chiefly with the values of the signs themselves, and carried on the careful documentation and analysis begun by Frank and Meriggi. He confirmed several points :

(i) The ordinary signs were syllabic and consisted each of a consonant-plus-vowel, and were fifty-six in number.

(ii) Whereas ideograms at the beginnings of words, marked usually by the sign , , consisted normally of a single sign, they could on occasion consist of two, which were treated as a single compound sign. He pointed out that signs  occurred at a point in the inscription from Aleppo (ancient Halpa) where the city's name appeared to be mentioned. The same three signs recurred in one of the royal names at Marash, where it was known from Assyrian records that certain of the local kings were named *Halparunda*. These three signs must thus be a compound sign for *Halpa*, not merely *hal*, as read by Forrer.

(iii) By closely studying the variant spellings of words he found some useful new equivalents. Thus  was shown to be interchangeable with  ;  = *pa* ;  = *te*,  = *tu*. He was also able more or less correctly to read the name of the great goddess of Carchemish, Kupapa. His observation that there were fifty-six syllabic signs led him to revive the comparison and theory of connection with the Cypriote syllabary, which has a similar number, and with the Cretan scripts.

25. Meanwhile similar ideas had been occurring to Bossert,<sup>2</sup> though originating from another starting point. In the British Museum is an Egyptian papyrus of the 2nd millennium B.C. dealing with medicine, which contains an interesting quotation. This is described in Egyptian as "spell against the Disease of the Asiatics, in the language of the Keftiu", and runs : "*sa-n-ti ka-pu-pu wa-i-ia-im-a-n ti-re-ka-ka-ra*." Now it is unfortunate that no one can yet say with certainty who the Keftiu were, beyond the fact that they were either Cretans or inhabitants of coastal Syria, or even Anatolia, under some strong Cretan influence.<sup>3</sup>

Bossert believed that they were Cretans. The strange fact remained that an invocation in their language existed, apparently calling on Santas and Kupapa, both nowadays recognised as deities once worshipped in Cilicia and at Carchemish and elsewhere in north Syria. Bossert jumped to the conclusion that Santas and Kupapa were known in Crete, that the

<sup>1</sup> Published as *The Hittite Hieroglyphs*, I, Chicago, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> "Santas and Kupapa," *M.A.O.G.*, VI, 3, 1932 (see Meriggi, *O.L.Z.*, 1932, p. 657). Bossert, op. cit., p. 22 n., claims that his work was completed without use being made of either Forrer's or Gelb's results.

<sup>3</sup> For an ancient mythological allusion to a settlement of Cretans in Pamphylia, see Barnett, "Mopsus," *Journ. Hellenic Studies*, 1953. See also A. Scharff, "Ägyptologische Bemerkungen zur Frage der Lokalisierung des Landes 'Keftiu'," *Jahrb. f. Kleinasienforschung*, II, pp. 101 ff.



Hittite hieroglyphs in which they could be read were related to the Cretan scripts, and the one might be read with the aid of the other, a rather large assumption. Fortunately this thorny point remained a side-issue in his study. Bossert's solid achievement was the identification of the King of Tyana in the Bor-Ivriz inscriptions. Throwing overboard Frank's hopeless "Syennesis", he correctly read the name of *War-pa-la-was*, a king of Tyana, mentioned by Tiglathpileser in about 738 B.C. under the form Urpalla.<sup>1</sup>

26. Hard on the heels of Forrer, Meriggi, Gelb and Bossert followed Hrozný,<sup>2</sup> the decipherer of the cuneiform Hittite, anxious to conquer fresh fields. But the outlines of the mystery had now been solved and he could only improve on what the others had achieved. He was able to point to several similarities between the grammatical details of the hieroglyphics and the Hittite cuneiform, which were clearly somehow related. Hrozný further conjectured correctly the meaning of certain important words in the texts, such as those for "father", "grandfather", "built", "gave", "made", "libations", "offerings". He was also able to identify on the sculptures from Malatia the name of Sulumel, another local king, contemporary with the Assyrian Tiglathpileser.

27. By a second volume of his work (1934), and a third (1937), Hrozný laid his colleagues under a debt of gratitude. For although his theories are often wide of the mark, he rightly recognised that what was wanted was some edition of the texts. In these volumes he collected, published and printed in a good new type new transcriptions of the scattered texts. Before publishing the third volume Hrozný even made a special expedition to Anatolia to photograph and check several of the inscriptions. With his wild interpretations one must all too often disagree, but subsequent work is greatly indebted to his texts.

A further step forward was taken by the edition of some Carchemish texts by Meriggi,<sup>3</sup> the publication of a number of new texts by Gelb<sup>4</sup> and the discovery of new inscribed seals, notably at Boğaz-köy, Tarsus and Atchana during excavations. Bossert, in *Santas and Kupapa* (see § 24), had made an invaluable palaeographic study of the forms of the signs. Meriggi in due course improved on this by providing a complete sign-list which is still to-day indispensable.<sup>5</sup>

28. Articles of all sorts and criticisms and reviews of the preceding works now flowed thick and fast. It is not necessary to refer to each in detail. But the large measure of general agreement which they admitted

<sup>1</sup> Bossert also observed the use of  = Runda in one spelling of the name Halparunda; and showed that  signified "temple".

<sup>2</sup> *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques*, 1933. The preface states that the substance was delivered in a lecture on 7th December 1932.

<sup>3</sup> "Die längsten Bauinschriften in 'Hethitischen' Hieroglyphen," *M.V.A.G.*, 39 (1934).

<sup>4</sup> *Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, 1939.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, 27, 1937, pp. 76-96.

showed that the decipherment had really taken place (Fig. 3). There was no longer any serious dispute about the approximate values of most of the commonest signs; difference of opinion chiefly reigned as to what was implied by the fact that two different signs were often interchanged. Meriggi thought this meant that they possessed the same consonant but were followed by a different vowel; Hrozný thought that they possessed the same vowel but that there might be slight differences in the value of the consonant. The main battle was now over. In the moment of this final victory which the new generation of decipherers had won there died, in extreme old age, A. H. Sayce, the pioneer and guide of all. There was perhaps some pathos in the fact that few now paid any more attention to the views of one who had been rightly called "the High Priest of Hittitology".

29. Such then, in briefest outline, was the state of decipherment which had been reached by 1939. Methodical and systematic organisation of the material had proved of the greatest importance and had, up to a certain point, extracted fruitful results. The wilder fancies of Sayce, Jensen and others had been rejected. It is true that the cautious but successful attempts of Meriggi to wring partial translations from the longer texts at Carchemish and elsewhere had been followed by Hrozný's over-ambitious claims to make sense of them from beginning to end. Fortunately Hrozný's subjective interpretations did not widely commend themselves. Nevertheless the decipherment had progressed to a point which could be considered very satisfactory if the difficulties were considered which it had been necessary to overcome. An account of the gradual decipherment was published by Johannes Friedrich in 1939,<sup>1</sup> in which he left the reader in no doubt that the decipherment was now "auf richtigem Wege". Yet it remained a fact that the distance still to be trodden was still very considerable. The nature of the script had been firmly settled. It consists of some fifty regular syllabic signs, usually, if not always, representing a consonant-plus-a-vowel, and a very much larger number of ideographic signs. The syllabic signs were often used as "phonetic complements" to spell out the ends of the words concealed under the ideograms. While there was general agreement on the values of most of the syllabic signs, there was little means of getting to know anything at all about those of the majority of ideograms, as their meaning could not be discovered. Next, the general nature of the language had been established. It was an Indo-European tongue, apparently not identical with any of the Hittite languages hitherto found among the cuneiform texts of Boğaz-köy. Yet in spite of all, the general interpretation of the texts had not really advanced much beyond the brilliant conjectures of Thompson, Cowley and Forrer, which had proved that the texts usually began with one stereotyped formula and ended with another. It was clear that the age of guesses was past, and that the future lay in detailed and

<sup>1</sup> *Entzifferungsgeschichte der Hethitischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, Kohlhammer-Verlag, Stuttgart (Sonderheft 3 der Zeitschrift "Die Welt als Geschichte"). Reviewed by Meriggi, *O.L.Z.*, 1941, pp. 159 ff.; Dhorme, *Syria*, XXII, pp. 176 ff.; Thureau-Dangin, *R.Ass.*, XXXVII, 80.



methodical study and comparison, unless a bilingual of fair length should be discovered.

30. In 1934 the German expedition, which had resumed the excavation of Boğaz-köy, found a store-room in the royal palace containing nearly 300 clay sealings, of which about 100 bore royal names written bilingually, after the pattern of the Tarkondemos seal.<sup>1</sup> It appears that this was the type of building known from other sources as *parna KIŠIB*, or "Seal-house", and it would seem that the sealings were preserved there as receipts or tallies.<sup>2</sup> They constitute a find of three-fold importance. First, they enable us to date these types of seal to the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. Secondly, inasmuch as they already use cursive forms of some signs, they help to establish the palaeography of the subject. Thirdly, the royal seals not only give us some information about the hieroglyphs and their values but also contain fresh historical matter. Whereas the "Tarkondemos" seal and a bilingual seal-impression of Išputahšu (presumably the king of Kizzuwadna of that name in the 16th century B.C.) found at Tarsus in 1935<sup>3</sup> had established a connexion between this script and the peripheral kingdoms of the Hittite Empire, the present finds conclusively linked it also with the central government and hinted at the date when its use by the latter began. The earliest datable royal seal from Boğaz-köy with hieroglyphs is that of Šubbiluliuma. I have always suspected that it was he who introduced it as the official monumental script from the powerful kingdoms of Arzawa and the south, where it was at home. Doubtless it was seen as a gesture of conciliation to those regions which he had overcome. As to the antiquity of the script in those parts, a seal and an inscribed sherd<sup>4</sup> found at Atchana, in Niqmepa's palace, shows the hieroglyphs were used there in the 15th century, while an inscribed stamp seal and inscribed weapons from Soloi seem to carry it back perhaps to the 19th century B.C.<sup>5</sup> Thus the script on present evidence clearly came to the Hittite capital from an original home in the south or south-east.

31. Many royal inscriptions on the seal-impressions are damaged or incomplete, but could be convincingly restored, and already in 1936 Bittel

<sup>1</sup> For the account of the discovery see Bittel, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Boğaz-köy, 1936," *M.D.O.G.*, 75, 1937, pp. 31-2, and p. 52 (account of the sealings by Güterbock). For the publication of the seals see Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazköy*, Erster Teil: "Die Königssiegel der Grabungen bis 1938" (*Archiv für Orientalforschung*, Beiheft 5), Berlin, 1940; Zweiter Teil: "Die Königssiegel von 1939 und die übrigen Hieroglyphensiegel" (Beiheft 7), Berlin, 1942.

<sup>2</sup> But for a different explanation, see below, § 48, note 5.


<sup>3</sup> Götze, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XL, 1936, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Barnett, "Notes on Inscribed Hittite Objects from Atchana," *Antiquaries Journal*, 1939, pp. 33-5. Whether the "Indilimma" seal (Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, No. 181), much discussed as a bilingual in the last century, contains any hieroglyphics at all is doubtful.

<sup>5</sup> Bittel, "Der Depotfund von Soloi-Pompeïopolis," *Z.A.*, 46, 1940. See, too, § 42 below. [On this subject see now Bossert, "Wie lange wurden hethitische Hieroglyphen geschrieben?" *Die Welt des Orients*, 1952. Here Bossert (i) quotes evidence that the script goes back to the end of the 3rd millennium B.C., (ii) finds the latest use of the script to be on coins of Antiochos IV of Commagene (A.D. 38-72). Unlike myself, he believes that the general language of the Hittite people was the Hittite hieroglyphic language, not Hittite cuneiform *našili* (see *Belleten*, XVI, 1952).—R. D. B.]

and Güterbock recognised on one the name of Šubbiluliuma, and by combining this with a hieroglyphic inscription at Nişantaş, in which Šubbiluliuma gives his father's and grandfather's names, identified the hieroglyphs for Tudhalia and Hattušili respectively, thereby confirming the attribution of the rock inscription of Fraktin to Hattušili and Putuhepa.<sup>1</sup> They also were able to identify the hieroglyph of Urhi-Tešub. Nevertheless, Güterbock largely despaired of being able to read the majority of the seal inscriptions, even with the help of cuneiform.<sup>2</sup>






<sup>1</sup> Putuhepa was read by Bossert in *O.L.Z.*, 1933, XXXVI, p. 86, and Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, II, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Güterbock, II, p. 46. When we turn to examine the hieroglyphs which correspond to certain of these royal names on the seals we face a strange puzzle. Whereas some, such as Muwatalli and the queens Danuhepa, Putuhepa and perhaps Malnigal, are written phonetically, certain other royal names are demonstrably not. Thus Šubbiluliuma is written TU.HA.ME. Hattušili is written with a TRIDENT  (normal value HA) transfixes with KNIFE (normal value LI). Tudhalia is represented by the figure of a mountain deity plus the sign TU.; while three more cannot be read at all. How are these unusual renderings to be explained? Clearly one explanation will not cover them all. Thus Tudhalia, as Güterbock points out, bore the same name as a mountain, Mount Tudhalia, which he thus depicts to spell his name as a sort of rebus or *type parlant*. On the other hand, Hattušili's name is obviously connected with the city Hattuša (Boğaz-köy). Is TRIDENT the ideogram for Hattuša? Hrozný thought so in 1937 (*L.I.H.H.*, II, p. 8). Güterbock (op. cit., p. 3) suggests it is the symbol of a god, No. 41, at Yazili Kaya, and identifies him with the "Storm God of Hatti" of the cuneiform texts. It is possible; but it is odd that the symbol for "Storm-God" does not also accompany him on the Yazili Kaya sculpture. But if true, then HA + LI is read ideographically *Hattuši-li*. (In that case the value *ha* for TRIDENT is derived from *Hattuša* on the acrophonic principle.)

Another very difficult case is the spelling of the name of Urhi-Tešub, said to be written: CITY-tag-LI! Normally in the hieroglyphs the word for "city" is *x-menas*, which hardly suggests Urhi-Tešub, while the word *Urhi* appears to mean "firm, upright", which hardly suggests ideograms for either city or knife. On the other hand, the same signs, differing only in that the knife transfixes the CITY sign, occur for Muršili at Sirkeli, in an inscription of Muwatalli, son of Muršili and father of Urhi-Tešub (Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscriptions*, No. 48). The correctness of the reading of this name as Muršili rather than Urhi-Tešub would seem to be confirmed by an unpublished inscription at Adana, on the reverse of the stele illustrated in Or. Inst. Comm. 8, Fig. 871 (now Adana 1721), where the name is written CITY + LI<sup>i-la</sup>. The same name CITY + LI (city transfixes with knife), also occurs on the inscription Karadağ V (Kizıldag) (Güterbock, "Alte und neue heth. Denkmäler," *Halil Edhem Festschrift*, 1947), apparently a dedication of someone described as the father of Hattušili, i.e. Mursili again. (That case suggests incidentally that Karadağ is Hattušili's kingdom of Hapkišša.) On the other hand, Karadağ VI bears the same name of Hattušili's (?) father, Muršili, written as Urhi-Tešub's name is usually supposed to be written, CITY-LI., with CITY not transfixes! In fact, both forms of this name seem to represent not Urhi-Tešub, but Muršili. One despairing explanation of Güterbock and others is to give up attempting to read these in the form known to us from the cuneiform and to assume that they are "throne-names", i.e. alternative or substitute names. Such names were *de rigueur* in Egypt and occurred in Assyria (see Sayce, *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 178). In some parts of Anatolia it seems to have been possible for a king to have two names; thus Kili-Tešub, king of Kutmuhi, "who is called 'Irrupi'," is mentioned by Tiglathpileser I (Luckenbill, *Annals*, § 222). But there is no evidence at present, as far as I am aware, of this practice among the Hittites. Another alternative explanation seems possible—that these are riddling writings of kinds which we do not at present understand. Esarhaddon "wrote his name in the likeness of the stars" (Luckenbill, *Annals*, II, p. 656), and the proof of it is the "black stone", B.M. 91207 (B.M. *Guide to the Bab. and Ass. Antiq.*, 1922, p. 228), and there is evidence of similar writing on the part of Sargon.



How does this fit the three royal seals which, as said above, cannot be read at all in

## 32. In 1941, after long silence, H. Bossert returned to the subject of the

the hieroglyphs? It happens that in all three cases we can guess them to be writings of the name of Muwatalli, since his name occurs in the cuneiform *Beischrift* in two, while in the third we have that of Danuhepa. This lady, who was concerned in some scandal, was as Güterbock shows not the mother of Muršili but most probably the queen of Muwatalli, and *tavannanna*, or High Priestess. As the latter office was independent of that of queen, she continued to figure as high priestess on the seals of her stepson Urhi-Tesub, the successor of her husband. But can we show that the hieroglyphs there represent Muwatalli? Now Muwatalli is not a name of a type usual among Hittite kings. It is an adjective meaning "vigorous", "potent", and by a significant word-play it is usually rendered into Hittite cuneiform by Sumerian ideograms as <sup>(m)</sup>NIR.GAL, which is itself read by the Akkadian word *mutallu* "heroic". We know there was nothing unusual in Hatti for a mortal to bear the name of a deity; there are men called Hašameli, Iarri, Inara, and a woman called Kupapa. Muwatalli is in fact the description or epithet of a god, as Phoebos is that of Apollo. In fact the God Muwatalli is mentioned as a deity of Kizzuwatna, and Goetze accepts the identification of him with both <sup>GOD</sup>STORMGOD NIR.GAL and STORM-GOD *MULTARRIHU* (*Kizzuwatna and Hittite Geography*, pp. 67-8). The god Muwatallas is mentioned, too, in the hieroglyphs at Carchemish (Ala) and occurs at Til Barsip, as Mūtalas. Thus the explanation of the epithet Muwatalli is that it really covered euphemistically that of the Storm-God NIR.GAL. This was a deity for whom both Muwatalli and his father Muršili had a special regard. The Storm-God NIR.GAL causes Hašameli to make Muršili invisible in battle, as Aphrodite does to Paris before the walls of Troy (*KBo.*, V, 8, 3, 41). Muwatalli, in his Treaty with Alakšandu, speaks of his patrons, the Storm God *pihaššašis*, the Protecting Deity of the King, <sup>GOD</sup>Lama and Storm God NIR.GAL. Now on seals nos. 38 and 39 (the two which belong to Muwatalli but bear inscrutable hieroglyphs) the king is shown cuddled by a *bearded*, i.e. *elder* Storm God, labelled GREAT-STORMGOD-BOWL. From Karatepe we know now that BOWL is the sign for Heaven. This thus reads "Great Storm-god of Heaven". The accompanying *Beischrift* in cuneiform mentions the Sun-God (i.e. the king), Tešub *helliḫi* (= Hurrian for Heaven?), <sup>GOD</sup>Šarruma, and <sup>GOD</sup>LAMA (or protective god). Now <sup>GOD</sup>LAMA, as Güterbock points out (II, p. 11) is the god of the stag (Runda or Karhuhas in hieroglyphs); and Karatepe, by translating Karhuhas-Runda as Reshef SPRM (Reshef of the birds?) confirms that LAMA is a god of stormgod, bowman type. On the Hacı Bekli relief (Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Fig. 817) we have an illustration of <sup>GOD</sup>LAMA, as Brandenstein pointed out ("Heth. Götter nach Bilderbeschreibungen", *MVAG.*, 46, 2, p. 79). He is wearing a long garment, is a bearded bowman, and stands on a stag, whose head is lost but the tip of whose antlers can be seen. Above him is the symbol of the king or sun god whom he protects, as described in the Alakšandu Treaty. An unpublished cylinder seal at Aleppo shows <sup>D</sup>LAMA again followed by his stag and marching under the winged sun disc as before. Behind is the sign for "heaven" and a royal name which cannot be read,     . This time he is still bearded but wears a kilt.

The third seal of Muwatalli from Bogaz-köy (No. 38), as we have said, shows the Storm God or Tešup of Heaven embracing the king, while in the "aedicula" containing the king's name according to custom, we have not Muwatalli but the signs STORMGOD—GREAT KING. Quite clearly this confirms the fact that Muwatalli is the name of one of the various STORM-GODs. But which is not so clear. If the signs are to be understood as STORMGOD (of) THE GREAT KING we get little further. If, however, as is rather more likely, they mean "THE STORMGOD, GREAT KING", one cannot entirely resist the suspicion that there is a play on the name of the god Šarruma, whose name is sometimes written in Hittite cuneiform with the Akkadian word ŠARRU "King" as ŠARRU-ma. If this identification is correct, it will explain the appearance of Šarruma on the *Beischrift* of no. 38. Šarruma is described in the Ulmi-Tešup treaty as "son of the STORM-god", i.e. of the older, bearded STORM-god. From his appearance at Yazilikaya (no. 42) Šarruma too (see Güterbock, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 21 ff.) would also seem to be a form of younger (beardless) Storm-god. This last point is relevant because on seals 39-41 and 42-44, we find Muwatalli's name written in three or four hieroglyphs as x-x-ba. Sedat Alp, it would seem rightly, recognises in this sign group the values *te-su-ba* for the name of Tešub "Bemerkungen zu den Hieroglyphen des het. Monuments von Imamkulu," *AOr.*, xviii, 1950, p 6.

hieroglyphs in a lengthy work on the bilingual seal of Šubbiluliuma.<sup>1</sup> His attitude was far from being as pessimistic as Güterbock's, and the angle from which he approached the solution of the readings was that signs normally read syllabically may also have an ideographic value. This is a slight but important extension of the previously held conceptions regarding the script, which it had been usual to assume was to be divided into ideographic and syllabic signs, without overlap.







33. Bossert's contribution lay in at least offering an explanation of the reading of Šubbiluliuma's hieroglyphs. It is a complicated argument deriving from a suggestion by Hrozný<sup>2</sup> that the name Šubbiluliuma, meaning "he-of-the-pure-fountain" from *Šuppi-* "pure" and "*luli*"—"a fountain", might be written in Hittite cuneiform with the Sumerian ideograms KU(G) "pure", "bright" and TUL "a well". But KU(G) also possesses a secondary meaning of "silver", because it is bright, and Bossert argues that the sign  *tu*, the first of Šubbiluliuma's three hieroglyphs, really depicts an ingot of silver, while the sign  *ha*, represents a well. The word represented by the latter sign can be very plausibly connected with the Hittite word *hantessar*, meaning a hole or the like, and it may be inferred that the value *ha* is derived from it, on the usual acrophonic principle.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately this support is wanting in the case of the *tu* sign since the usual word for silver in Hittite is *hattu*.<sup>4</sup> Bossert assumes that the sign *tu* like the Sumerian KU(G) has a second value meaning "pure", i.e. = *šuppi-*. This argues a closer correspondence between the thought-processes of Mesopotamian and "Hittite Hieroglyphic" scribes than has hitherto been shown to exist. As a variety of cuneiform was in regular use in Anatolia from early times, a strong influence from it may be reasonably expected on the hieroglyphs. Bossert, however, is inclined to underrate Mesopotamian influence and to lay stress on that of Egyptian.

34. In 1942 there appeared Part III of I. Gelb's work entitled *Hittite Hieroglyphs*.<sup>5</sup> The author had already expressed the view in 1935 that the

(The Hacı Bekli relief, now in Adana Museum, has a hieroglyphic inscription on the back. Unfortunately this is so covered with lime deposit that it is at present illegible. But it would seem that removal of this coating by chemical means might produce some useful information.)

<sup>1</sup> *Ein Hethitisches Königssiegel* (Istanbuler Forschungen, 17, Berlin, 1944).

<sup>2</sup> *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques*, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> There is now fair evidence that this principle of acrophony was used in evolving the hieroglyphic script. Thus  TRIDENT, *ha*, is apparently derived from the word *haššuš* "king"; the sign  value *te* apparently from the name of Tesup;  value *a*, apparently from the *našili aiš*, a mouth.  *u* from *ulubatas*, an ox;  *hi* from the word \**nuwa-* "nine". So, too,  *hi*, apparently from the name of the goddess Hepat (see Bossert, "Die Göttin Hepat," *Belleten*, 1951, p. 318, who considers this ideogram to represent a liver, Grk. *ἥπαρ*, *ἥπατος* . . .).

<sup>4</sup> There was, however, another word in Hittite as well for silver, namely KUBABBAR-*ni-wa-*, K. Bo., V, 2, iv, which if we knew it all, might save the argument of Bossert.

<sup>5</sup> I. G. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, III (Oriental Institute of Chicago: Studies in Anc. Or. Civil., 21).

number of true syllabic signs in this script was so small that it was obvious it could be neither an alphabet nor a syllabic script in the accepted sense.




























































	a	e	i	u
Vowels	 a  'a			
Nasals				
h				
ī	 īa  īā			
k/g				
l				
m				
n				 nu  nú
p/b				
r				
s				
ś				
t/d				
w				
z(=ts)				
Syllables of unknown value				

Fig. 3. Gelb's scheme of values, 1942.

The number around sixty was too many for an alphabet and too few for a true syllabary " in the same sense as in Assyrian cuneiform, because the number of signs would have to reach at least two hundred to express all the

various open and closed syllables. But if this writing . . . is syllabic, its nature must be such as to permit of expressing all the signs in the Hittite language by means of the smallest possible number of signs". Gelb went on to point out that there exist two syllabic writings in which the number of signs approximates most closely to the Hittite hieroglyphs: the Cypriote syllabary possessing fifty-four signs and the Japanese with forty-eight, both of which disregard (at least in writing) the distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, and use only signs either expressing a vowel alone or a consonant-plus-a-vowel. In the present work he assumed that our fifty-seven signs represent a syllabary organised on the framework of the four-vowels a, e, i, u, which can either stand alone, or in a syllable, in which they follow one of twelve consonant-sounds, e.g. *ba, be, bi, bu*. A half consonant *i* and three nasals are added, giving a neat schematic table (Fig. 3). Unfortunately there is still considerable disagreement among scholars as to the values even of several of the "true syllables" which he lists. Nor has his theory that nasals are indicated after a, e, i, carried great conviction.

35. At last, when the river of inspiration was beginning to run rather dry and the fields it fed had been all but exhausted, aid came in the form it had long been hoped for.

In 1946 Bossert, now a professor at Istanbul, learnt of a site called Karatepe, in a lonely and inaccessible valley of the Upper Ceyhan River, in the slopes of the Taurus mountains in Eastern Cilicia.<sup>1</sup> Here was a

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<sup>1</sup> Bossert and Chambel, *Karatepe*, 1st Report, Istanbul, 1946; 2nd Report, 1947. The principal publications of the bilingual text are:

*Phoenician Text.*

J. Friedrich, "Eine Altphönizische Inschrift aus Kilikien," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XXIV, 1947, 77-9.

A. Alt, "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der neuen ph. Inschriften aus Kilikien," *ibid.*, pp. 43-57.

R. D. Barnett, J. Leveen, C. Moss, "A Phoenician Inscription from Eastern Cilicia," *Iraq*, X, 1948, pp. 56-7.

A. M. Honeyman, "Phoenician Inscriptions from Karatepe," *Muséon*, LXI, 1948.

J. Oberman, *Discoveries at Karatepe*, American Oriental Society, 1948.

A. Dupont-Sommer, "Notes sur le texte Phénicien," *Oriens*, I, pp. 193-7.

R. Marcus and I. J. Gelb, "The Phoenician Stele Inscription from Cilicia," *J.N.E.S.*, VIII, 1949, pp. 116-120.

A. Dupont-Sommer, "Étude du texte phénicien des inscriptions de Karatepe," *Oriens*, II, pp. 121-6.

A. Dupont-Sommer, "Azitawadda, roi des Danouniens," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XLII, 1948, pp. 161-188.

A. Dupont-Sommer, "Étude du texte phénicien des inscriptions de Karatepe" (Suite II), *Archiv. Orientalni*, XVIII, 1950, pp. 34-8.

R. O'Callaghan, "The Great Phoenician Portal Inscription from Karatepe," *Orientalia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 173-205.

J. Leveen and C. Moss, "The Second Recension of the Karatepe Inscription," *Journal of Jewish Studies*, I.

*Phoenician and Hittite Hieroglyphic Text.*

H. Bossert, "Die phönizisch-hethitischen Bilinguen vom Karatepe" (publishing lines I-X), *Oriens*, I, pp. 163-192, and *Belleten*, XII, 1928, pp. 515-531.

do., do., Erste Fortsetzung (publishing lines XI-XXIV), *Oriens*, II, pp. 73-120.

do., do., Zweite Fortsetzung (publishing lines XXV-XXXI), *Symbolae Hrozný* (*Archiv. Orientalni*), 1950.

small citadel of Hittite appearance on the right bank of the river, where there were remains of sculptured slabs, a figure of a lion and parts of a life-size statue. Both these last two monuments were inscribed with parts of a longish text in Phoenician characters. It might at first sight seem surprising to find an early Phoenician text in this remote corner of Anatolia. But at Zincirli, only some 75 kilometres away to the south-east as the crow flies, the excavators of 1902 found inscriptions, the oldest of which, that of Kalammu (dated to about 875 B.C.), is in Phoenician. But this route to the plateau from the coast is a region in which Phoenicians had important commercial interests. In the 7th century, too, Esarhaddon of Assyria found himself in conflict with a Šanduarri, king of Kundu and Siz, in the Ceyhan valley, who was an ally of the King of Sidon. And the genealogy of the sons of Noah in Genesis x, commonly regarded as based on a Phoenician map of the then known world in the 7th century B.C., seems to be well acquainted with Eastern Asia Minor.

36. The inscription on the lion was incomplete, but Bossert was able in 1949 to complete it by another copy found in a second area, which he also excavated, lower down the northern slope of the hill on which the citadel is perched. It soon appeared that both the north and south towers of the citadel were ornamented with a pair of lions and sphinxes which guarded between them the approach to a monumental gateway of Hittite type. The corridors of the double gateways are flanked by sculptures of a provincial, almost barbaric style, half Phoenician, half Anatolian. In each gateway on the south side, on unsculptured slabs adjoining the sculptured orthostats, was a perfect version of the Phoenician text. There resulted the longest known Semitic inscription, of sixty whole lines. Even more important was that the panels and bases of the north side of each gate bore hieroglyphic inscriptions which Steinherr, Bossert's pupil, soon recognised as corresponding to the Phoenician text. The true bilingual had been discovered at last.<sup>1</sup>

37. So far only forty of the lines of hieroglyphics, as against sixty of the Phoenician version have been published, and as yet only in transcript.<sup>2</sup> But they leave no doubt of the truth of the discoverer's claims. (According to Bossert, the Phoenician version is made from the Hittite and contains some slight mistakes.) As we have said, a copy of the hieroglyphic version was turned up in both the upper (southern) as well as the lower (northern) gate. This fact alone, by supplying in many instances different ways of spelling the same word, has already given us the values of

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H. Bossert, Dritte Fortsetzung (publishing lines XXII–XL), *Jahrb. für Kleinasiatische Forschung*, I, pp. 264–295.

H. Güterbock, "Die Bedeutung der Bilinguis vom Karatepe für die Entzifferung der heth. Hieroglyphen," *Eranos*, XLVII, 1949.

I. J. Gelb, "The Contribution of the new Cilician Bilinguals to the decipherment of Hieroglyphic Hittite," Chicago, 1950; and *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, VII, 1950, pp. 129–151.

<sup>1</sup> Bossert, *Oriens*, I, 1948, p. 163. The curious thing is that the Hittite text runs from slab to slab, often jumping a sculpture orthostate to do so. Carch. A1 and 2 are doubtless similarly parts of a longer text dispersed over two or three slabs.

<sup>2</sup> Now the remaining lines have been published by Bossert, *JKF.*, ii, 1953.

## SOME NEW WORDS OBTAINED FROM THE KARATEPE BILINGUAL

האח	xv	כל	'all' 'every'	האח+א	xx	רע	'evil'
האח+א	xii	ארץ	'land'	האח+א	xii	”	”
האח+א	iv	יחז	'cause to live'	האח+א	xix, xxv	עז	'strong'
האח+א	v, xxxii	ירבה	'enlarge'	האח	xxvii	בל אש	'no one'
האח+א	vii	מלא	'fill'	האח+א	xxv	מבא	'west'
האח+א	xiv	בן	'build'	האח+א	xxx	שמש	'east'
האח+א	xxxix	ללכת	'to go' (infin.)	האח+א	xii	ב-	'in'
האח+א	xxix	ירד	'bring down'	האח+א	xxv, xxx	עד	'towards'
האח+א	xxxiii	שתע	'fear'	האח+א	xxvi	לפני	'before'
האח+א	xxv, xxxviii	ענ	'afflict'	האח+א	viii	על	'upon'
האח+א	xxi	עבד	'put', 'do'	האח+א	xiii	תרק	'destroy'
האח+א	xi	שבר	'break'	NEW SOUND-SIGNS			
האח+א	vi, xxvi	מנעם	'pleasantness'				
האח+א	vi	שבע	'satisfaction'				
האח+א	xviii	צדק	'righteousness'				
האח+א	xviii	חכסה	'wisdom'				
האח+א	i	עבד	'servant'				
האח+א	xx, xxxiv	אדם	'man'				
האח+א	xxxv	אשת	'woman'				
האח+א	iii	אם	'mother'				
האח+א	xxxix	שם	'name'				
האח+א	xxii	פעם	'foot'				
האח+א	xxxiii, xxxiv	דרך	'road'				
האח+א	xxxii	יום	'day'				
האח+א	vii	עקר	'store-house'				
האח+א	xv	שרש	'root' 'family' (?)				
האח+א	xi	מלץ	'rebellious'				
האח+א	ix	מק	'shield'				
האח+א	x	מחנה	'camp'				
האח+א	xix, xxx	גבול	'frontier'				

האח+א	=	si	xxviii
האח+א	=	ma	xxiv
האח+א	=	ma, me	xxv
האח+א	=	i	xx, xxvi
האח+א	=	i	xxvii
האח+א	=	wa	xvi
האח+א	=	wa	xi
האח+א	=	(u) ta	xxii, xxviii
האח+א	=	ta	xxx, xxxiv
האח+א	=	r, t/d	passim
האח+א	=	na	xxvi
האח+א	=	tas	xii
האח+א	=	dana	v, vi
האח+א	=	si	xxxix

FIG. 4.



fifteen sound-signs and the meanings of some twenty-five ideograms previously unknown, and confirmed the values of eight signs and meanings of sixteen ideograms previously correctly guessed. Needless to say, the bilingual has also given us many entirely new ideographic signs for which the interpretation is provided ; at least forty-two words are now interpreted for us for the first time, while twenty others previously known but not for

## SOME WORDS PREVIOUSLY CONJECTURED, NOW CONFIRMED




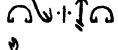









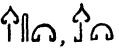











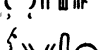

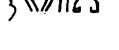



	מלך	II XVIII	= 'king'		ו		= 'and'
	אב	XVI	= 'father'		שבת נפש	XXXVI	= 'peaceful- (-ness)'
	אדני	XV	= 'lordly'			XXII	= 'set', 'place'
	בת	XXI	= 'house'				= 'city'
	שב	XVI XXX	= 'to seat'				= 'animal' (determinative)
	אדר	II	= 'make great'	SOUND-SIGNS CONFIRMED			
	פעל	III VII	= 'make'				
	אנך	I	= 'I'				
	אש	II	= 'who'				
		IV	= 'away'				
	כן	VI XII	= 'was'		ha	x	
	י	III	= 'me'		i	XXXIX	
	סס	VIII	= 'horse'		d(a)	III	
	אל	x	= 'god'		n(a)	XXI	
	כסא	XVI	= 'throne'		sa	XX	
	י	XVIII	= 'my'		wa	XIII	
	חמית	XIX	= 'fortresses'		te, tu	XX	
	ארץ	XXV, XL	= 'land'				
	בן	XIX, XXIII	= 'build'				

FIG. 5.

certain correctly interpreted were shown to have been correctly guessed (Figs. 4, 5). There are some surprises, too. Thus we learn that some signs regarded hitherto as ideograms can also be used sometimes as vowels or syllables,<sup>1</sup> even in the middle of a word. A good example is the word for Adana, written CITY *A-dana-wa-na-is*. Further, there is more proof of

<sup>1</sup> There were already isolated instances known of this practice, e.g. on the Babylon stele, "C.I.H.," Pl. II, l. 1, and at Topada.

"polyphony" in the fact, now established,<sup>1</sup> that the "thorn" hitherto read as "r" can also have the value "ta" or "da". The consequences to Gelb's theory are disconcerting; for there would appear to be now not one sign for *i* but three, and at least three for *wa* and four for *da*. Most important, too, is that the relative particle is established as *was* and the frequent sign with which it begins is *wa*. There are also, of course, considerable gains in understanding the syntax. There can be little doubt that in Bossert's discovery at Karatepe we have certainly one of the more important of Near Eastern archaeological discoveries, the value of which is limited only by the slightly disappointing amount of historical content of the hieroglyphic texts in general.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. THE HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

38. The author of the Karatepe inscription is no Phoenician but bears an Anatolian name, Azitawad. This is compounded with the word *asi-*, which Bossert showed<sup>3</sup> in 1946 to be the correct reading of the verb meaning "to love". Azitawad (or Asitawad—in the hieroglyphs),<sup>4</sup> is king of the Dananiyim, and vassal of Awarkuwas, apparently to be identified with Urikki or Uriaik of Kue, or Cilicia who, after fighting beside Sarduri of Urartu submitted to Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C. According to the Karatepe inscription the kingdom of the Dananiyim is the plain of Adana, the '*Emek Adan*, and Adana is evidently their capital. With a wealth of verbiage Azitawad describes his foundation of a city called Azitawadi (presumably Karatepe) after himself, and refers to his pacification of the country from east to west and his fortifications.

39. It was, of course, promptly seen that the Dananiyim, who are here mentioned for the first time in history as a real people in a specific geographical area, are to be connected with the Danauna, or *dnwn*, who invaded Egypt in the 12th century B.C.<sup>5</sup> The *Dnwn* are represented at

<sup>1</sup> This fact, however, is still disputed by Gelb and Meriggi.

<sup>2</sup> An article on this subject entitled "Le iscrizioni storiche in eteo geroglifico", in *Studi classici e orientali* (Pisa), II, 1952, is promised by P. Meriggi, whose return after long silence to the subject of hieroglyphs is an important event.

<sup>3</sup> *Asia*, Istanbul, 1946. This elaborate discussion of the origin of the name of Asia produced incidentally the true meaning of the word "syennesis", attempts to read which into the hieroglyphs had caused such trouble to the early decipherers. Bossert shows it most plausibly to mean "lover of the god".

<sup>4</sup> This transition in this region from z to s is evidently (as Bossert pointed out, *Oriens*, I, p. 92) a local feature. It explains why Tarsus should be represented on local coins with Aramaic inscriptions as *Tarz*, while in Assyrian it is *Tarzi*, once *Tarsis* (Luckenbill, *Annals*, II, p. 710 q.v.). There Tarsis (written erroneously Nusisi) is mentioned by Esarhaddon as a centre of "the kings of the sea from Iadanana (which is Javan) as far as Tarsisi". In Hebrew it is Taršiš. The second s is, of course, the Hittite nominative ending. Azitawadas or Azitawa(n)-das, according to Bossert, means "lover of (the sun-god) Wa(n)das". There is as yet little evidence for this god, but such Anatolian Greek personal names as Ουανυδαμός and Ουανυδιβασσις, Ουανυδανεσις (Sundwall, *Namen der Lykier*, p. 237) may be cited as including his name.

<sup>5</sup> For a good summary of the historical data concerning the Dananiyim see O'Callaghan, *Orientalia*, XVIII, pp. 193-9.

Medinet Habu, with the *Pulasati* and *Tkr* dressed exactly like them. They are mentioned as the Danuna, a people of Kinaḥna (Canaan) in one of the Amarna letters, in the same breath as Ugarit. They must therefore have been in or near Cilicia by the 14th century and their continuity into the Iron Age is significantly paralleled by that of the Luqqa or Lycians. Historians had long linked the Danauna with the Danaoi, a name used in Homer for the Greeks at Troy, and one which Greek tradition explained by deriving it from a dynasty of oriental origin which had established itself at Argos. Danaos, its eponymous founder was said to be the son of Belos, the Babylonian god Bel, i.e. an oriental. For this modern identification of Danaoi and Dananiyim the Karatepe bilingual brought some unexpected confirmation. Azitawad speaks of himself as belonging to the House of *Mpsh*. As Alt and the present author pointed out,<sup>1</sup> this can hardly be other than Mopsus, a somewhat misty figure of Greek legend.

40. The kingdom of Mopsus was thus already nearly three centuries old when Azitawad wrote his inscription. In the 11th century Aššurnāṣirpal I (1047–1029) claimed on the obelisk in the British Museum to have defeated the land of Dannuna and captured five cities. Dannuna must have long formed part of the realm of Kue or Cilicia which, known as Kode to the Egyptians, was still called Kuwe/Kume in neo-Babylonian times.<sup>2</sup> In the 10th century B.C. already Kue, the successor of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna, was in commercial relations with the kingdom of Solomon, and hence also no doubt with Phoenicia. From the Bible, by an obviously correct emendation of the meaningless text of 1 Kings x, 28, we learn that “Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt and Kue, and the king’s merchants were of Kue. They received them out of Kue at a price”. This explanation that the plains of Kue were used for horse rearing is confirmed by Azitawad’s statement that he “added horse to horse” (line 7). In about 841 B.C. the Dananiyim are found “oppressing” their neighbour the king of Sam’al, who invoked the aid of the Assyrian Shalmaneser against them. In the reign of Sangon Urikki of Kue again was on the anti-Assyrian side. As to the relations of Azitawad with Assyria, we can only assume that not long afterwards his independence ceased, for Sargon, by his thirteenth year, had already annexed Kue as a province of the Assyrian Empire. Perhaps this took place as early as 720 B.C., when a campaign against Tabal is recorded.<sup>3</sup>

41. The contribution of the remaining Hittite hieroglyph texts to history is till now a little disappointing. They fall into two great groups, those of the Empire and those of the neo-Hittite kingdoms. In the Empire they are commonly inscribed on the vertical faces of rocks, apparently for

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Mopsus, his relations to the Hittite kings and the Greek legends concerning him, see R. D. Barnett, “Mopsus,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, lxiii, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> On the localisation of Kode or Kedy see Gardner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, pp. 134 ff. On Kuwe/Kume see Albright, *Bull. Amer. Sch. Or. Res.*, 120/1950.

<sup>3</sup> Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, 1198.

religious purposes,<sup>1</sup> often accompanying a figure or figures of a god. The earliest are those of Šubbiluliuma. There are also some inscriptions on slabs, as at Kölitölü yayla, and altars, as at Eski Kışla and Emir Gazi, apparently dedicated by one of the Tuthalia's, probably Tuthalia IV.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the same monarch is also author of the famous rock carvings at Karabel, near Smyrna.<sup>3</sup> They are probably rightly connected with the expedition to Aššuwā, and mark the extreme western extension of Hittite suzerainty. Important for geographical reasons is the Fraktin inscription<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 3), which is dedicated to the god Aiš (?) of the land HAND.HAND HOLDING CUP.na, apparently a spelling for Kizzuwatna by a pun of some kind, Hittite cuneiform *kessar* = hand, CUP suggesting *watar* = *gen-wetenas* "water", producing *Kezz-weten-na*.<sup>5</sup> The copies of the signs given by Hrozný in *L.I.H.H.* are incorrect. For the change of s to z we have already noticed parallels, while the spelling of "Adana" at Karatepe shows us that a sign can be used as an ideogram in the middle of a word and that it can represent more than one syllable.

42. The other principal hieroglyphic inscription of the Empire of historical interest is the long-known inscription in the Mosque of the Storks (El Kikân) at Aleppo. This has been correctly shown by Güterbock to describe the dedication of a temple to the divine pair Hepat-Šarruma by Ta(l)-mi-Šarruma. This monarch was a son of Šubbiluliuma, who installed him as king of Aleppo.<sup>6</sup>

43. In the inscriptions of the neo-Hittite kingdoms we are able to recognize many of the names of the petty dynasts of Northern Syria encountered by the Assyrians. At Tell Taiyinat, in the Hatay, there are fragments mentioning the name of Halparunda, most probably the king of Hattina, subservient to Shalmaneser III. At Boybeypınarı, near there, is

<sup>1</sup> The true explanation of this custom is discussed by R. D. Barnett, "The Phrygian Rock-Facades and the Hittite Monuments," *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, X, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> Bittel (*AJO.*, XIII) has emphasized the presence of a second figure. cf. Bossert, *Asia*, 72.

<sup>3</sup> Tudhalia is also the author of the inscription from Karakuyu, west of Malatya.

<sup>4</sup> Hrozný, *L.I.H.H.*, p. 432; 4, *ibid.*, p. 435; Gelb, *AJA.*, XLI, 289.

<sup>5</sup> Bossert, *Belleten*, 1951, 320, reads the name of Lawazantiya, the city of Putuhepa, in a newly found inscription from Karahoyük, near Elbistan (Özgüç, Karahöyük). J. Lewy, however (*Orientalia*, 21, 1952, p. 291), places Lawazantiya near the Beilan Pass and at Malatya.

<sup>6</sup> Güterbock, *op. cit.*, II, p. 22, and *Belleten*, VII, 1943, p. 308. Alp, however (*Zur Lesung von manchen Personennamen . . .* p. 38), while rightly taking the name as Tal-mi Šarruma, wishes to take the first sign, now much obliterated, as Meriggi 214. Gelb has shown some reasons (*H.H.*, 3, p. 14, comparison of A 11 a 5 with M XI 5) why that should be *ri*, though I think it can also be read *ka* on the strength of the seal *Sendschirli V*, pl. 47, i (*Bara-ka-ba-s* = Barrakab). But after examining the original stone at Aleppo I think the first sign there is certainly not Meriggi 214, but a form of Meriggi 61, 2. This sign is used to begin the word read *ta-na-me* "all" (Steinherr, "Hittite Hieroglyph for 'all', 'every', 'whole'," *Oriens*, II). It would thus support the reading of the name *Talmi* as against *Rimi*-šarma in cuneiform and indicate that the sign could be read *tal* or *ta*. But that it can be Meriggi 214, and that this can be *tal ri* on the pattern of the cuneiform, as argued by Alp, I do not believe. Cf. Güterbock's sketch, *Siegel*, II, Pl. 81, Figs. 259-261.

a dedication of Panamuwadas, who calls herself the mother of Šubbiluliuma (written, as for the great monarch, *tu-ha-me*), son of Hattušili. This is almost certainly not the great Šubbiluliuma, but probably refers to a son of a king of Kummuh (Commagene) whose name Aššur-nazir-pal knew and misrendered as Katazili for Hattusili. At Malatya we have the sculptures inscribed with the name of Sulumel and his wife and son, whose name is also given : Tuwa(te).<sup>1</sup> This name may probably be identified with that mentioned in an inscription of Argišti of Urartu (c. 785–753),<sup>2</sup> who speaks first of his conquest of the land of Hate belonging to Hilaruada, then, in l. 15, of his invasion of Hati and his reaching “Melidea”, the city of the son (or descendant) of Tuate. As Argišti’s son Sarduri elsewhere<sup>3</sup> calls Hilaruada the son of Sahu, it would seem that the meaning “descendant” rather than “son” “of Tuate” is to be preferred. The Sulumel of the Malatya sculptures will then belong to the 9th century and correspond to the Suluhawali mentioned by Menua or Urartu<sup>4</sup> about 810 B.C. Sulumel’s son Tuwate may be the same as the ruler Tuwada, whom the dedicant of an inscription from Kululu, near Kayseri, claims as his overlord.<sup>5</sup>

From Hamath we have the inscriptions of Urhilina already mentioned (9th century). From the discovery of another of his inscriptions at Apamea, as well as at Restan, and from the mention of the town of Lakē, on the Euphrates, in a text of Urhilina’s son (not otherwise known as a king of Hamath) it is clear that Hamath ruled a very large domain in the 9th century B.C.

Usually, indeed, these hieroglyphic texts are somewhat barren of historical information. But from Tell Ahmar, near Carchemish, there emerges by inference a point of some interest. Aššur-nazir-pal mentions having installed a certain Hamatai as governor of Suru, in Bit Haluppi, on the Habur river, which had been conquered by 884 B.C. (Not to be confused with him is one, Hamatai of Lakē, who was tributary to Shalmaneser’s father Tukulti-Ninurta II.)<sup>6</sup> In any event, Hamatai of Suru was murdered in 884 by emissaries of Ahuni, king of Adini, opposite *Carchemish*, one of Aššur-nazir-pal’s bitterest enemies (a crime no doubt of great interest to Urhilina of Hamath). One of two stelae from Tell Ahmar is actually dedicated by Ham(e)atas, the son of Mašiwadas, who on the fellow stele from the same place is called the son of Ahuni. It becomes apparent that

<sup>1</sup> Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Fig. 768.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce, *J.R.A.S.*, 1882, XXVIII iv 6.

<sup>3</sup> Izolu inscription, Sayce, *ibid.*, LI.

<sup>4</sup> Palu Inscription, *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*, p. 31. In this dating it will be seen that I differ both from the dating of Akurgal in his *Remarques stylistiques sur les Reliefs de Malatya*, and Bossert *Zur Chronologie der Skulpturen von Malatya*. The former would date the sculpture of the gate 1050–900, the latter about 875.

<sup>5</sup> Kululu Inscription I, Bossert, *Jahrbuch f. Kleinasiatische Forschung*, I (1951) ; Meriggi, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXVII (1952).

<sup>6</sup> An account of an important stele recently discovered and now in the Museum at Aleppo was read by Père Tournay at the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Congress of Orientalists. It is inscribed with an account in cuneiform of the capture of Lakē by Tukulti-Ninurta II, and is to be shortly published by Tournay and Subhi Sawwaf.

Hamatai was originally a Hittite, probably a grandson of Ahuni, who changed his coat and paid for doing so with his life.

These inscriptions from Tell Ahmar are of importance from another angle because they afford a precise dating *ante quem*, for Tell Ahmar (Til-Barsip) was destroyed by Shalmaneser and became an Assyrian province in 856 B.C. From them we are able to cross-date the similar inscriptions at Carchemish. They have been shown in *Carchemish*, Vol. III (1952), to belong to three successive dynasties. The first is that of Luhas (c. 950), whose great-grandson Katuwas built the inscribed gateway leading to the citadel. Next comes the house of Asdaruwas (c. 820–780) whom we first find using the title not merely Lord of the land of Carchemish but “lord of the land of CALF’S HEAD”. In 1949<sup>1</sup> I surmised that this stood for Hatti, the geographical term under which the Assyrians regularly referred to Carchemish. In the Karatepe bilingual we now find the ideogram CALF’S HEAD = *hasas*, meaning “well-being”. Now in Hittite cuneiform we find there was a word *hattu-latar*, also meaning “well-being”, of which *hasas* is evidently a dialect variant.<sup>2</sup> Clearly the ideogram CALF’S HEAD could be read *hattu(latar)* and by a sort of solemn pun *Hatti* was written as the “land of well-being”.

44. The last of the three dynasties of Carchemish mentioned in the hieroglyphs is that of Araras (c. 780–730?).<sup>3</sup> He no longer calls himself king. Indeed, as he nowhere mentions his parentage we may conclude he was an upstart, “a son of nobody,” as in the Assyrian annals such people are called, who seized power in Carchemish probably with outside help, overthrowing the dynasty of Asdaruwas. His outside help is likely to have been Urartu, but it is nowhere mentioned. There are historical texts of Araras, but it is still too early to make much of them. In one (A6)<sup>4</sup> he mentions some sort of supremacy exerted over Muški, Mysians, Lydians, and others, and in another (A156\*\*) some kind of homage by the kings of Sur (Tyre?) *Tamanu* (= bit Zamani), in Syria, even of the king of Assyria—events which are well in keeping with the period of extreme Assyrian weakness under Assurnirari VI, but concerning which the Assyrian annals are silent. Another text speaks of bringing back the statue of Hadad of Aleppo which the Assyrians had carried off.<sup>5</sup>

45. In the procession scene carved in stone at Carchemish, Araras is at pains to legitimate his son Kamanas by introducing him personally into the presence of the god, whose statue stood near by. Kamanas, in the

<sup>1</sup> *Iraq*, X, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> This exchange of t with s is also witnessed in reverse at Carchemish in the name of Atarluhas, which appears to be a rendering of Asari-luhi, a name of Marduk in Babylonia.

<sup>3</sup> Akurgal, in his excellent study, *Späthethitische Bildkunst*, wishes to date Araras into the time of Sargon. The difference between us in dating is small.

<sup>4</sup> Bossert promises a fresh publication of this text. [This is now available as “Zur Geschichte von Karkamis”, in *Studi Classici e Orientali*, University of Pisa, 1951. This translation is far ahead of anything yet made of this important text. I differ from Bossert, however, in believing that the ideogram THRONE + TABLE, which is described as being set up, is not a residence but a festival; cf. the Greek inscription from Nimrud Dağ.—R.B.]

<sup>5</sup> Bossert, *Archiv Orientalni*, XVIII, 1950, p. 21.

inscription of Jekke, near Azzaz,<sup>1</sup> calls himself "lord of the land of CALF'S HEAD", thus assuming the full titles of Asdaruwas. This inscription, set up at Azzaz, some 80 kilometres distant from Carchemish, shows that under Kamanas the realm of that city was certainly not confined to its immediate neighbourhood. H. Bossert has now shown that Kamanas in this text explicitly acknowledges Sarduris of Urartu as his overlord.

46. We have already referred to Urpalla of Tyana, whose name appears as Warpalawas, king of Tuwana, in the inscriptions of Bor, Ivriz, and Nigde (Nahida),<sup>2</sup> in central Anatolia, north of the Taurus.

At Bulgar Maden,<sup>3</sup> in the Taurus, there is an inscription of a person named Tarhunasis, son of Tarhu-war-x-as, vassal of Warpalawas. Tarhunasis is the same name as Tarhunazi<sup>4</sup> of Milid, whom Tiglathpileser describes as a vassal of Urpalla but, as the inscription of Bulgar Maden does not mention Milid, we hesitate to identify them. Urpalla himself was, however, a minor dynast of the Asia Minor Confederacy, and between the lines of Tiglathpileser's official history<sup>5</sup> we discern that his real enemy, who kept in the background, was Uaššarme, king of Tabal, or southern Phrygia. There can be little doubt that the long and difficult inscriptions of Topada (Karapınar), south-west of Kayseri,<sup>6</sup> written in a sort of queer script of hieroglyphic Hittite, is really an inscription of Uaššarme (who spells his name Wa-aš-šarruma).<sup>7</sup> He calls himself, as behoves the head of a confederacy "Great King", and speaks of his city of Bar-wa-tas, i.e. the capital of Tabal, known to the Assyrians as Bit-Burutaš. With this inscription go two others written in similar script from Çiftlik, near Kayseri.

47. Maraş was the capital of Gurgum, another kingdom which became tributary to Tiglathpileser. Its king, Halparunda, son of Mu-

<sup>1</sup> Barnett, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscriptions at Aleppo" (*Iraq*, X, 1948).

<sup>2</sup> The text gives the actual ancient name of Nigde: Nahida (MXXXI, CI, see Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs*, p. 17).

<sup>3</sup> Hrozný, *L.I.H.H.*, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> For s = z, see note 4, p. 87 above.

<sup>5</sup> Luckenbill, *Annals*, § 802.

<sup>6</sup> *L.I.H.H.*, pp. 351 ff.

<sup>7</sup> This name is read by Hrozný *Wa-lu-Dattamimas*. For Šarruma as the correct reading of the name of the god formerly read Dattamimas, see Güterbock, *Siegel*, II, pp. 20-4. My reading of the present name involves taking the second sign, the triangle usually read *lu*, as *aš* (by polyphony). This triangle is often represented on Hittite seals in the hands of gods (see Güterbock, op. cit., I, p. 46) and may be identified with the object referred to in Hittite cuneiform descriptions of the gods' images (Brandenstein, *Bildbeschreibungen*, p. 87, *Das Heil-symbol* . . .) as SIG<sub>5</sub> = *aššu* = "good" in Hittite. This derivation of the value of the sign, of course, produces yet another example of "acrophony" (see p. 81). The reading *aš* for this sign is confirmed by a fragment from Carchemish A 25 a, where *-ha-x* "Great Queen" is evidently to be read *ha-aš-sar-*. This tallies neatly with the word for queen *\*haššusaraš*, postulated by Gurney in "Hittite Prayers of Muršiliš", p. 45 (*L.A.A.*, XXVII). It also involves accepting the sign Meriggi 346, as *sa*, as Bossert, *Asia*, p. 137, and I argued in *Iraq*, X, p. 131, rather than *si* as desired by Gelb, *H.H.*, III, p. 17.

Meriggi independently arrived at the identification of Uaššarme with the author of the Topada inscription, *Athenaeum*, XXIX, 1951, p. 45, while Landsberger, *Samal*, p. 20, n. 39, identified the city's name at Topada, Bar-x-ta, with Bit-Burutaš (as the lesser kingdom of Tabal was called by the Assyrians). Whether Bit-Burutaš is to be also connected with the Byzantine town of Barata, near Eregli, is obscure.

watallis, is the author of the long text on the Maraş lion, now at Istanbul. Forrer pointed out that this dynast's pedigree went back from c. 750 B.C. for seven generations to about 950, i.e. that his house appears to have been founded on the ruins of the Hittite Empire after the confusion of the Muški invasions had subsided. Another inscription of Halparunda (M.LII) mentions military exploits against the city of Alawasa,<sup>1</sup> otherwise unknown.

48. It remains to sum up a few of the facts concerning this language as far as they can be discerned. It is neither Luwian, Palaite nor the language of the Hittite cuneiform, though particularly close to Luwian. It does not tally with any of the Indo-European languages of Asia Minor of the Iron Age—Lycian,<sup>2</sup> Lydian or Phrygian but appears to belong to the *satem* group. It has no name and cannot yet be identified with certainty with any known people and only roughly with an area, the south-eastern part of Anatolia. The names of several gods who appear in its inscriptions—Rundas, Santas, Wandas—are peculiar to that region and survive there until late in the classical period, incorporated in personal names of Cilicia, Lycia or Pamphylia<sup>3</sup>; the names of the three principal figures of the pantheon, Kubaba, Šarma and Tarhu are on the other hand much more widely spread through Anatolia.<sup>4</sup> And of these three, Kubaba could be shown to have an ultimately Mesopotamian origin. In her case, Hurrian influence may be the explanation for her transference to Anatolia as it certainly is with that of Hepatu and with Šarma, and probably Nakar (Nikkar or Ningal) the goddess of the underworld. But this does not tell us who invented the script. Bossert (*Rev. Hitt. et As.*, IX, 14) suggests that it was created in Kizzuwatna by the Danuna themselves or some similar "Sea-people". It now seems clear that the language belongs to the *satem* branch of Indo-European languages and that the words for "dog", "horse" and "horn" are to be read *suwanas*, *asuwas* and *surna*. Perhaps it was from this people that the Hebrews and Egyptians got the horse, which they called in their respective tongues *sūs* and *ss-m*.

49. I believe the script was invented in Arzawa or Kizzuwatna at an early date, at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C., primarily for carving on wooden tablets, hence the raised letters. For this view there is some support in the Boğaz-köy texts.<sup>5</sup> The earliest example of the script seems to be the curious seal discovered at Atshana<sup>6</sup> in Level IV, c. 1500 B.C., bearing curious signs which might be prototypes of later Hittite hieroglyphs. At about the same time we have the Phaistos disc with its pictographs, long

<sup>1</sup> Bossert, *Archiv Orientalni*, XVIII, 1950, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> For recent studies see Tritsch, "Lycian, Luwian and Hittite," *Archiv Orientalni*, XVIII, 1950; and Petersen, *Lykisch und Hittitisch*, 1945.

<sup>3</sup> See Sundwall, *Die Einheimischen Namen der Lykier*.

<sup>4</sup> See Keil, "Die Kulte Lydiens," in *Arch. Studies presented to Buckler*.

<sup>5</sup> For wooden tablets and scribes of wooden tablets see Güterbock, "Das Siegel bei den Hettitern" (*Symbolae Paulo Koschaker dedicatae* 1939) also Bossert "Schreibstoff und Schreibgerät der Hethiter," *Belleten*, XVI, 1952. Bossert believes that the wooden tablets were sealed with the seals described above in § 30, and that their find spot was where the wooden tablets were kept.

<sup>6</sup> R. D. Barnett, "Notes on Inscribed Hittite Objects from Alalakh," *Ant. J.*, XIX, 1939.




associated by scholars with Anatolia. We note that not only were its signs imprinted in clay with a movable type (an anticipation of printing which remained still-born for 3,000 years) but they are impressed by using raised letters. Raised signs also occur on the stamp seal found with the hoard of weapons from Soloi (see above, p. 78).


50. Forrer and Bossert have at times hinted that the Hittite hieroglyphs were as old as the 3rd millennium and were influenced by early Sumerian pictograms. This is uncertain. The script was probably merely one of several attempts made in the Middle Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean to reduce the exuberance of signs represented by cuneiform to a more tractable system. The Hittites, in their version of cuneiform, cut down the number of usual signs to about a hundred. The hieroglyphs ordinarily seem satisfied with about eighty. The Cypriot syllabary is more strict, and has fifty-four. The Ras Shamra alphabet but thirty-two. Minoan, Class B, has sixty-four. Our hieroglyphs may, for all one knows, owe something to the Cretans, but whether this is so cannot well be judged until the Cretan script is read.

51. It would seem likely that when Šubbiluliuma annexed Arzawa in the 14th century B.C. and expanded the Hittite sway from the Central Anatolian plateau to Syria, he took over this script as a gesture to his southern subjects. He and his successors used it sparingly on account of its clumsiness, and used it mainly ideographically, the words not being spelt out in full. After the fall of the Hittite Empire, about 1200 B.C., the small diadochic or neo-Hittite states of south-east Anatolia and Syria, having formed a loose confederacy together, revived and considerably developed this script for something like nationalistic reasons, enabling it to be used for texts of some length. When these states, in their turn, were overthrown by the Assyrians piecemeal, between the 9th and 7th centuries B.C., the writing disappeared. One of the latest examples seems to be the inscription from Palanga,<sup>1</sup> perhaps of the late 7th or early 6th century B.C., though influences on Greek scripts and dialects lasted into late times.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. XX (= *M.V.A.G.*, 1906, Pl. XX). See Barnett, *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, p. 20. Bossert, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1952, dates it to the 8th century B.C.; see above § 30 and note 5.

<sup>2</sup> An example of the influence on language seems to be the "barbarism", called *σολοικισμός*, perpetrated by the inhabitants of Soloi, which consisted in splitting up a partitive genitive into a sort of parataxis: οἱ ἵπποι, τὰς κάτω βλεφαρίδας οὐ φασιν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν (Aelian), or οἱ δὲ Ὠρεῖται, χαλκαὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς πέτραι (Philostratus)—see Bentley on Phalaris, p. 320. This is apparently a survival of such expressions as *tada THRONE-asitar-da* "(to), my father, on his throne" = "on my father's throne" (*Karatepe*, XVI). Parallels to this, however, also occur in Hittite cuneiform, so that this expression may be a common heritage of Anatolia from Hittite languages. Examples of survival of Hittite hieroglyphic influence on script seem to be (i) in the Pamphylian dialect of Greek, the use of double ι, to mark length, e.g. *Ηιῶπος*, for Attic *ἱερός*, where double ι

seems to reflect , now proved to represent a long *i*, indicated as doubled by the two strokes

below it, (ii) the curious sign  on coins of Caria shown by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson (*Num. Chron.*, 1936, pp. 6-7) to be probably a survival of the hieroglyph for "mountain". (iii) In Lycian, where Pedersen (*Lykisch und Hittitisch*, § 16) notes that the occasional punctuation between syllables clearly derives from an originally syllabic system of writing. (iv) Other examples are quoted by Bossert, see above, § 30, n. 5.

52. Anatolia is a little-explored country, which in antiquity, as to-day, owed much of its importance geographically and culturally to being a bridge between continents. Its rôle in the transmission of culture from east to west, especially during the childhood of Greece and Europe, is still not at all fully understood, and every new step in understanding its strange tongues is to be welcomed. Bossert's efficiency, determination and good luck have given us much. The rest of the bilingual is still to come.<sup>1</sup> We give him and his colleagues our thanks for what they have produced in the face of many difficulties. But who knows what Anatolia has still to offer to those who wish to search ?

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<sup>1</sup> Now published. See above, p. 84, n. 2.



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The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale, near Van: Addenda

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# THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM AT TOPRAK KALE, NEAR VAN—ADDENDA

By R. D. BARNETT

IN Vol. XII (1950) of *Iraq* I published as much as was then available of the results of Rassam and Clayton's excavations at Toprak Kale.<sup>1</sup> I also summarily described the material from the excavations of Lehmann-Haupt and others at the same site. Since then, some items missing in 1950 have come to light in the British Museum, while others not then fit for publication have been cleaned and repaired. In addition, I have now obtained access to Russian publications, with which I was then unacquainted, dealing with the subject.

## *Addenda from the Excavations of 1880* *Plan*

The first item recovered is Rassam's plan of the Haldis Temple, mentioned as missing on p. 13 of my former article. In 1951 it was found (with certain other plans also mentioned as lost in my article, p. 3) among the records

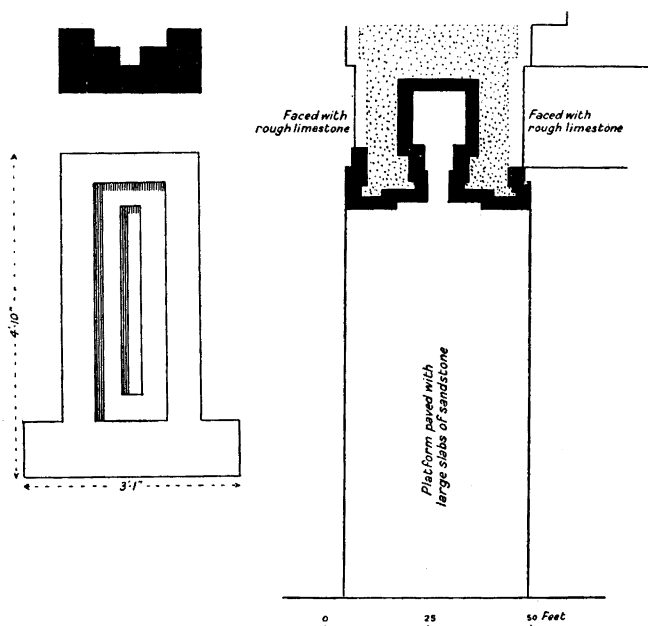


FIG. 1. Rassam's plan of the Haldis Temple.

of the Trustees of the British Museum (Fig. 1). The plan (if it can be trusted) shows a small square shrine, about 45 ft. across (21 × 13.5 metres) with walls

<sup>1</sup> *Iraq* XII Pt. I, pp. 1-43.

of great thickness, apparently faced with dark stone (perhaps basalt, or the "dark grey trap rock" referred to by Clayton<sup>1</sup>), all round the cella walls and the front aspect. The front comes forward, not, as I suggested from the evidence of Rassam's photograph, like a Greek temple *in antis*, but nevertheless with a slight pilaster in each corner. Rassam's photograph (reproduced from *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, plate opposite p. 376) is illustrated here for comparison with the plan (Plate I). One thing will at once be noted: whereas on the right of the temple (as shown in the plan) there is said to be (as on the left) an area "faced with rough limestone", in the photograph one can clearly see there the left-hand corner of an adjoining building which lies flush with the frontage of the temple. This building is nowhere mentioned in accounts of the excavation or in the plan, and remains enigmatic.

The whole of this construction appears to have rested on the massive substructures shown in Lehmann-Haupt's drawing (reproduced in *Iraq* XII, Pt. 1, p. 23).

The massive walls of the cella no doubt were necessary to support a gable roof of the type illustrated by the sculptures of Sargon at Mušasir (see loc. cit., p. 21), where no doubt also the front came forward on slight pilasters. From the plentiful remains of charcoal reported by Rassam we may, perhaps, guess this roof was made of wood.

In front of the temple on the plan appears an area described as "platform paved with large slabs of sandstone". This is in keeping with Rassam's account (quoted on p. 13 of my article). Lehmann-Haupt describes it as

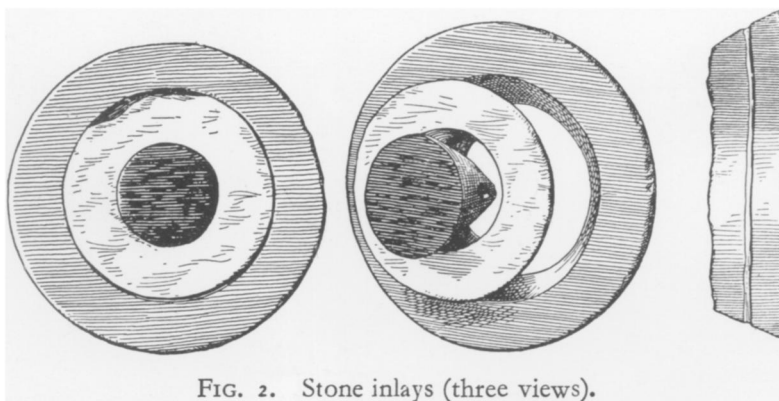
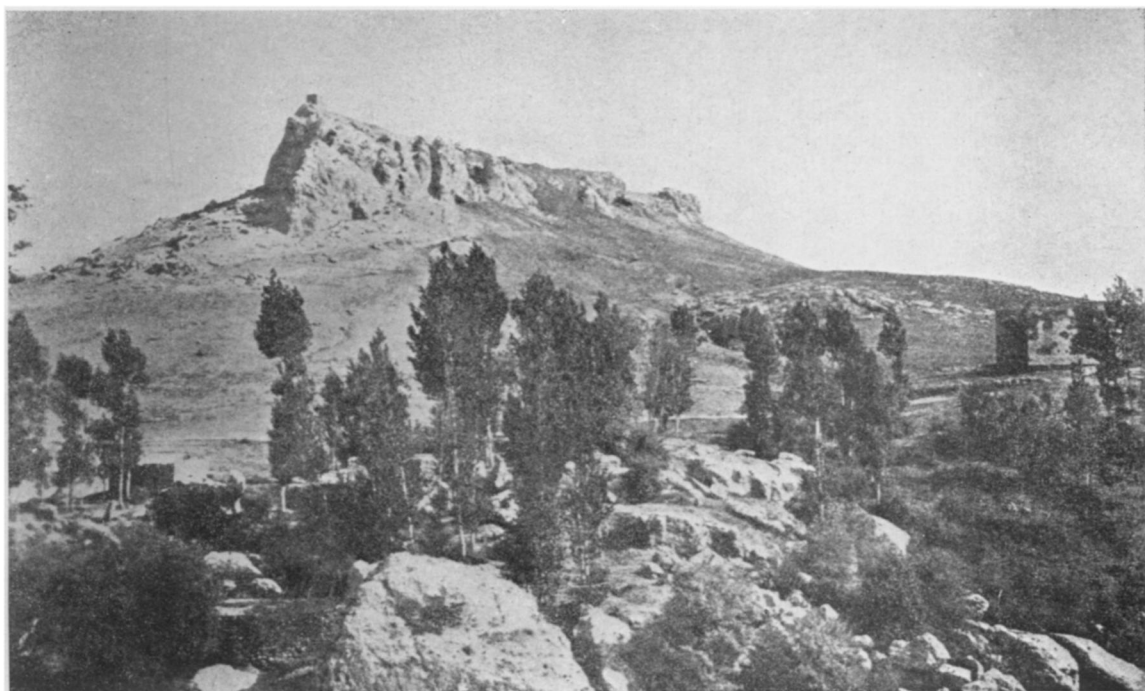


FIG. 2. Stone inlays (three views).

a 20-metre broad platform inlaid with "einem schönen Steinmosaik". From his account elsewhere<sup>1</sup> he makes it clear that by this are meant the basalt slabs inlaid with mosaic concentric rings of black and white stone. (Details for

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit. p. 10.



General view of Toprak Kale.



View of the Temple of Haldis during excavation.

assembling them shown in Fig. 2 from some pieces just acquired from the Rassam collection at Hove, Sussex, by the British Museum.) At the time of writing my previous article, I took Rassam to be referring to these inlaid slabs when he wrote of finding "on the northern side of the platform a large number of curiously cut stones of black basalt, all of the same style and pattern, heaped one upon the other, which looked to me to represent monumental slabs". This identification of mine now appears to have been a mistake and it seems more likely that in this passage Rassam was referring to slabs with the recessed pattern illustrated in his plan (here Fig. 1) and there described by him as "basalt stones". What exact function these stones originally fulfilled I do not pretend to suggest, beyond saying that it was probably ornamental, that a wall somewhat similarly adorned with recesses occurred in the South-West Palace at Nimrud in Assyria, and just such recesses were carved in the crenellation ornament of walls at Persepolis.<sup>1</sup>

A view of Toprak Kale, presumably from the South, reproduced from Piotrovskii<sup>2</sup> is shown on Plate I, 1.

\* \* \*

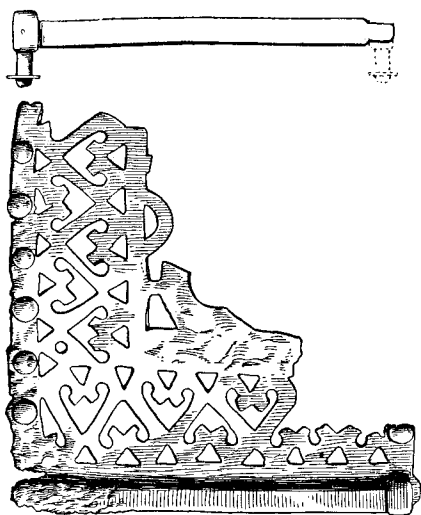


FIG. 3.

From the excavations of 1880 a few more pieces are now available.

#### *Openwork plate or stand*

On p. 15 of my article I described under item 7 a rectangular plate, pierced in openwork S-shaped patterns,  $2.6 \times 9.5 \times 16.5$  cms. This plate apparently stood on small feet. Its purpose is unknown. It is here illustrated (Fig. 3).

#### *Bronze bowl*

On the same page, under item 10, I referred to fragments of a bowl ornamented with friezes of lions, embossed and chased. It was then stated to be in too fragmentary a state to illustrate. It has now been partly repaired and is found to consist of two pieces, one apparently a rim of a dish, the other the wall of a vessel; whether from the same object is not certain, but likely.

Larger piece:  $0.185 \times 0.16$ ; smaller:  $0.12 \times 0.08$  cms. Fig. 4.

<sup>1</sup> e.g., Schmidt, *Persepolis* I, pl. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Piotrovskii, *Urartu* (Leningrad 1939), pl. 16. (1677)

For a sketch map of Van and part of Toprak Kale see Lynch, *Armenia* II, map opp. p. 81.

*Handles*

Under item 11 I described two pieces, B.M. 22942-3, as "a pair of handles from a large dish, each ornamented at the centre with a head of a roaring lion". These, now cleaned, are shown on Plate II, 1. Their height is 0.15 ms.,

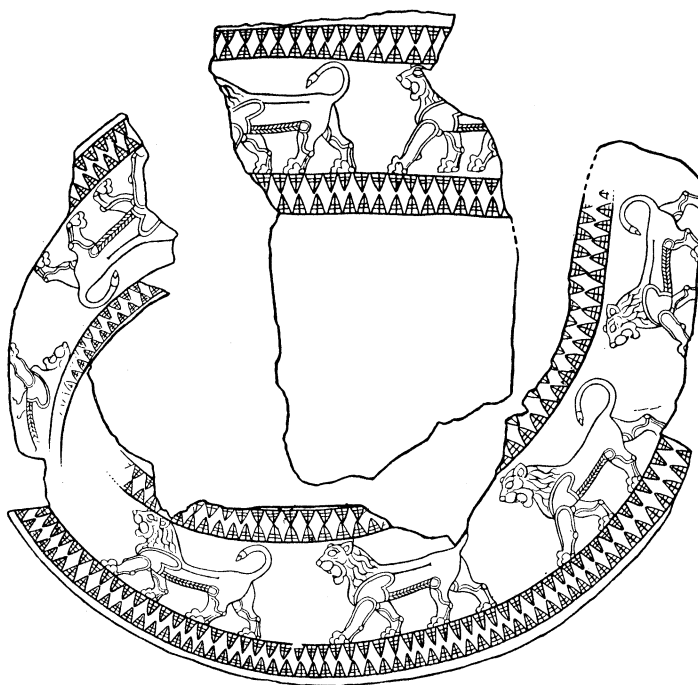


FIG. 4. Fragments of bronze bowl with engraved decoration.

and from the curve at which they are set, it may be calculated that the vessel they once ornamented was about 45 cms. in diameter. This may be compared with the diameter (78 cms.) of the inscribed rim of a dish of Rusa which I referred to in my previous article on p. 7 under the number 116735.

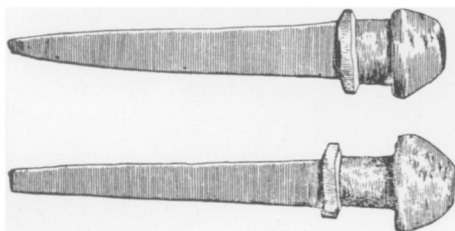


FIG. 5.

*Nails*

On p. 8 I referred to a bronze "stud with mushroom-shaped head" and a "square plug" as acquired in the collection of 1877. They are, in fact, the following pieces: 91195, 91197, two nails with mushroom-shaped tops and rectangular collars. The tip of one is lost. Both were originally of about

the same length (17.7 cms.). Fig. 5.





A

1. A-B. Handles from a vessel (see p. 6).

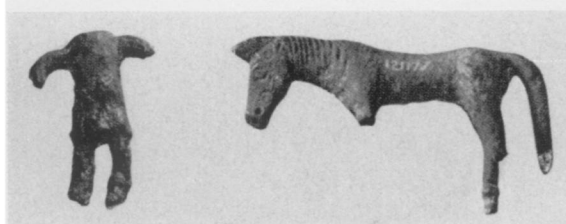


A

B

C

2. Miniature figures. A-D: Soldiers wearing helmet of type 2 (see p. 7). E: horse.



D

E



B

PLATE III

1. Bronze figure of god standing  
on couchant animal (Metropolitan  
Museum, New York).  
(See p. 15, 1. no. 9.)



2. Bronze figure of female lion-sphinx  
with inlaid face (Hermitage).  
(See pp. 13-14, no. 4.)

3. Bronze figure of couchant  
winged bull (Hermitage).  
(see p. 12, no. 4.)



Similar nails but with circular collars were found at Karmir Blur in the palace or fortress excavated recently by the Russians.<sup>1</sup>

91198. Mushroom-headed nail (or chisel).

Length 13.8 cm. Fig. 6.

Remains exist of two similar nails.



FIG. 6.

### *Foot of Bed.*

In addition to the pieces described above, another piece now restored from fragments and placed on exhibition in the British Museum is the second bed-foot mentioned on p. 6 of my article under item 91164. This piece is now renumbered 123890 instead of 91203 + 91207. It is chiefly noteworthy for containing several rectangular patches inserted very neatly in antiquity to replace defects in casting—a device practised in Greek metalwork.

### *Bronze figures*

On p. 16 of my previous article were mentioned figures of four warriors and a horse (B.M. 121177). These have now been cleaned and are shown on Plate II, 2 A–E. D is headless, but in the position of the feet resembles B, and may have been otherwise the same. A is advancing to the left, and the pins which once held him to a base, perhaps in common with the other pieces, still survive. B faces right, and is extending his arm, perhaps to hold a shield. C is kneeling, and has a circular mark on his chest.

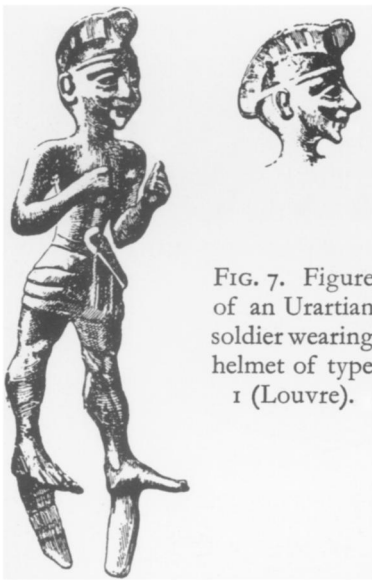


FIG. 7. Figure of an Urartian soldier wearing helmet of type 1 (Louvre).

The Urartian type of helmet usual in the ninth-eighth centuries B.C., which we may call type one, has a crest along the top of the helmet and is first shown worn by Urartian infantry on the Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser (ninth century B.C.)<sup>2</sup>. A bronze figure of a soldier, apparently an Urartian, is from the Peretié Collection<sup>3</sup> in the Louvre (Fig. 7.) The new form (type two) is that worn by these figures from Toprak Kale. It is shown worn by the enemies of Tiglath-pileser, probably also Urartians, as depicted on

sculptures from Nimrud,<sup>4</sup> and is taken into the Assyrian army. In this type, according to Gadd, "the crest, usually a brush of hair on a sort of curved comb

<sup>1</sup> Piotrovskii, *Karmir Blur I* (Erivan, 1950), Fig. 36.

<sup>2</sup> King, *The Bronze Gates of Shalmaneser*, pls. 36–8.  
Bossert, *Altanatolien*, figs. 1209–1211.

<sup>3</sup> Published in Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, III, 447, Figs. 319–20;

from Marash, bought in 1881. The same helmet is also worn by the bowman in a chariot on a sculpture at Zinjirli. (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* III, pl. xxxix).

<sup>4</sup> Assyrian Basement 124956–7, Saloon 118934.

added to the point of the helmet . . . marks the helmets of Urartians, but first appears in Assyria" (*i.e.*, in the Assyrian army) "with Tiglath-pileser III".<sup>1</sup> The same helmet recurs in sculptures of Sargon at Khorsabad<sup>2</sup> and several times in those of Sennacherib at Kuyunjik. It is there always worn by a prominent soldier wearing braces crossed through a disc across his chest. Is this disc the same as that marked here on the chest of the figure C on Plate II, 2? Whether this was the uniform of a rank or a regiment is obscure.

A detail of the helmet noticeable from figures B and C is that the helmet has no ear-flaps and is held by a chin-strap.

This type of helmet was imitated in Greece and became the basis of the standard Greek helmet of the sixth-fifth centuries B.C., perhaps conveyed through Anatolia, if the crude drawings of warriors at Pazarli in Phrygia (sixth century B.C.)<sup>3</sup> may be taken as a guide. Greek tradition derived the Greek helmet from Caria, but the only illustration of a Carian helmet (albeit later) known to me is quite different.

It may be remarked that in the seventh century the Urartians seem to have adopted the pointed Assyrian helmet without crest (type three), for thus they are depicted on the quiver from Karmir Blur, and the fine helmet of Sarduris from the same place is of this type.<sup>4</sup>

The small horse may originally have borne a rider. It is certainly bridled, as can be seen from the illustration.

\* \* \*

### *Stone inlays*

On pp. 18-19 of my previous article I discussed the stone inlays, black and white, which Rassam found at Toprak Kale. Among the small Rassam collection from Hove, now transferred to the British Museum, are some fresh

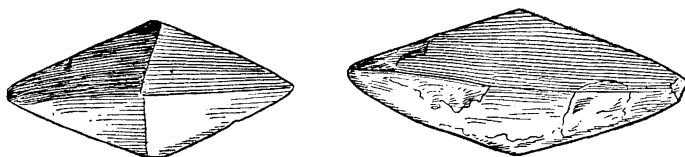


FIG. 8. Stone inlays.

examples, diamond-shaped and circular. The latter permit us to see how the rings were originally held together, probably by a wire, or pin. Fig. 8 (see also Fig. 2).

<sup>1</sup> *The Assyrian Sculptures* (1934), 38.

<sup>2</sup> Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, pl. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Koşay, *Les Fouilles de Pazarli*, pt. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> Piotrovskii, *Karmir Blur* (Erivan, 1950), pls. 13-15; Barnett and Watson, *Russian Excavations in Armenia*,

*Iraq*, XIV, pt. 2, Fig. 15 and Plate XXXII. From *Soviet News*, May 21st, 1953, I learn that these fine pieces with the cups from Karmir Blur have now been transferred to the Hermitage (information by kindness of Professor V. Minorsky).

*Quiver*

In his letter of September 8th (my previous article, p. 19) Rassam refers to cups and quivers. A part of a quiver has now been recognised, cleaned and made up from smaller pieces. It is 0.16 m. high by 0.12 m. broad, and on the back was apparently completed with leather, like the similar quivers from

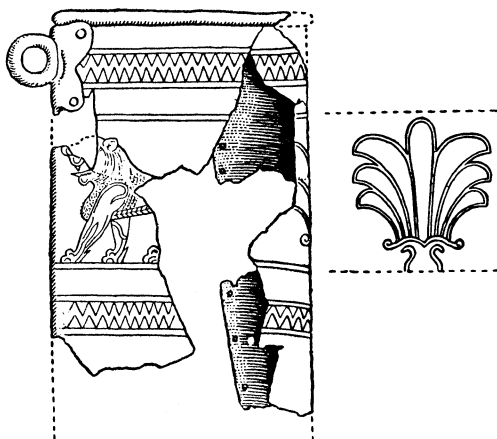


FIG. 9. Part of a bronze quiver.



FIG. 10. Foot of miniature tripod.

Karmir Blur<sup>1</sup> and Altintepe<sup>2</sup>, since it had a vertical border edged with holes. It bears an incised figure of a lion and a palmette between dog-tooth decoration. Fig. 9.

\* \* \*

Among objects from this excavation not previously mentioned are:—

(1) *Tripod foot(?)*

Foot of a small piece of furniture, perhaps a miniature tripod, in form of a bull's foot. Height 3.7 cms. Fig. 10.

(2) *Belt*

Piece of a bronze band, perhaps a belt, with series of holes, the edges of which are decorated with two rows of dots. Height 7.5 cms. × 5 cms. Two

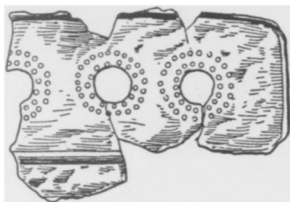


FIG. 11. Part of belt.



FIG. 12. Clips of belt, and disc.

<sup>1</sup> Barnett and Watson, loc. cit., Plate XXXII.

<sup>2</sup> Barnett and Gökce, *Uartian Bronzes from Erzincan, Anatolian Studies* III (1953), pl. 18.

objects, probably the clips of a belt and a disc, may belong with this piece. Figs. 11, 12.

\* \* \*

### *Material from other excavations*

#### *Wheeled hearth*

In 1890 "workmen" seeking stone on Toprak Kale found remains of a bronze object, which Father V. Scheil later came across in the monastery of the Dominicans at Van.<sup>1</sup> He restored it on paper, and published it, from the information of an eye-witness, as a wheeled stand, the chassis 0.56 m. wide

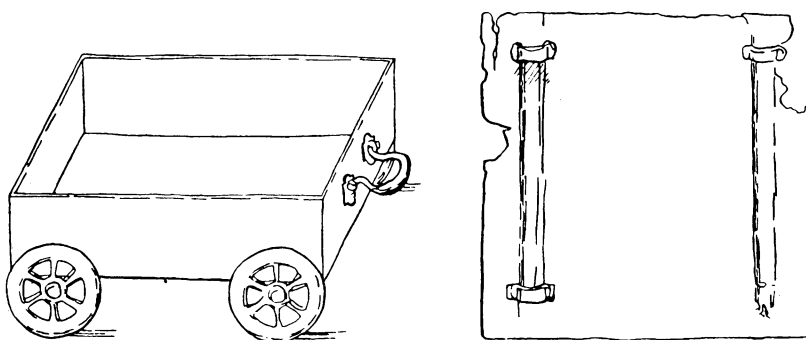


FIG. 13. (a) Reconstruction of wheeled hearth.  
(b) Sketch of surviving portion of underside (after Scheil, R.T. (N.S.) IV, 179-180).

and 0.14 m. high. It rested on four wheels with six spokes, 16 cms. in diameter, fitted on to two axles of iron. On two sides was a handle 0.12 m. broad.

This object is now easily recognisable as a portable hearth or charcoal burner. Such objects were found at Tell Halaf<sup>2</sup>, and were apparently used in Assyria<sup>3</sup>. Fig. 13.

#### *Crucibles*

In 1892 three small clay kidney-shaped dishes were acquired by the British and Mediaeval Department, but have now been transferred to that of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities. They are probably crucibles, and are of much interest as illustrating the metalworking technique of Van. Fig. 14.

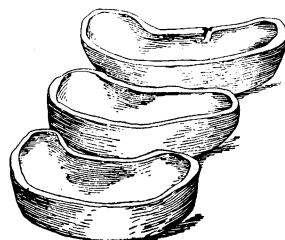


FIG. 14. Clay crucibles.

<sup>1</sup> Scheil, *Un Chariot du Temple de Haldi* (*Recueil de Travaux*, 1914, p. 179, reproduced by Przeworski, *Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens*, plate XII, 3a-b.) See my article, *Iraq* XII, pt. 1, p. 35, n.6.

<sup>2</sup> Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, pl. 58.

<sup>3</sup> See Bulle, *Geleisestrassen des Altertums*, Sitzungsber. der Bayr. Akad. Wiss., ph. hist. Kl., 1947, reviewed in *Orientalia*, 1948, p. 511; see also H. Frankfort in *Iraq*, XIV, pt. 2, p. 122, and A. Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge des Alten Mesopotamien*, pl. IX.

*Tablets*

Piotrovskii<sup>1</sup> refers to "certain objects" having "reached America through Raynolds, but they are not available to science to-day, in particular a clay tablet covered with cuneiform known only from an old copy". It is not certain to what text Piotrovskii is referring, but it is very possibly to that copied by Sayce.<sup>2</sup>

*Lance-heads*

On p. 34 of my article I mentioned a considerable number of lanceheads from Lehmann-Haupt's excavations as being in the British Museum. They are of iron and mostly in very poor condition. A selection is illustrated in Fig. 15.

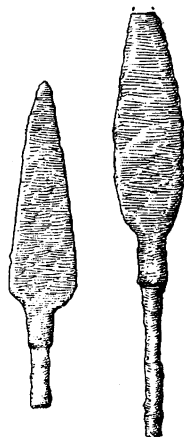


FIG. 15.  
Iron lance-heads.

*Bronze parts from the divine throne and stool*

In pp. 20 ff of my previous article I discussed various pieces of furniture and some human and animal figures from Toprak Kale dispersed over several collections, a number of important pieces (which I published) being in the British Museum. After considering the group as a whole, I formed the conviction that they were all parts of a bronze throne ornamented with figures and dedicated doubtless to the God Haldis in his Temple. I compared what was known of similar thrones from Babylonia, Assyria and Persia, and even attempted a tentative reconstruction. I was at that time completely unaware that B. Piotrovskii, starting from similar premises, had already reached very similar conclusions in an article in an extremely little-known Russian periodical published in 1939.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Charles Wilkinson, of the Metropolitan Museum, with his habitual helpfulness, drew my attention to it after my previous study appeared. But it was impossible to find a copy of this journal in England and it proved finally necessary to obtain microfilm photos of it. Piotrovskii's article is in some ways intended partly for the intelligent general reader; but it contains a valuable catalogue of the pieces of this group then known to him and some useful comments thereon and on Urartian art as a whole.

<sup>1</sup> *Istoria i Kul'tura Urartu* (Erivan, 1944), p. 148. I am deeply indebted to Professor V. Minorsky for the loan of a copy of this important book, which, like most Russian works on Urartu, is virtually unobtainable here.

<sup>2</sup> Sayce 78; listed in Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldaicarum*, 177.

<sup>3</sup> B. B. Piotrovskii, *Urartskie bronzovye Statuetki*, in *Trudy Otdela Vostoka* 1. This journal may now

be studied in the British Museum (Vols. I-III in microfilm, Vol. IV (1947) in book form; press mark. Ac. 5583 b.) I have not been able as yet to trace any volume later than 1947. For microfilms of Vols. I-II I am indebted to Miss Johanna Vindenaas, of the Chicago Oriental Institute, and for Vol. III to Brooklyn Museum Library. For kind help in translation I am deeply obliged to Mme. M. Kaigorodova.

From his Catalogue, important additional data may be added to those I previously gave. I summarise the data on those pieces, adding their respective heights, following the arrangement I tentatively made of them in my reconstruction.

1. *STOOL. Collection of the Marquis de Vogüé.* Angle piece and foot with falling leaves; above, seated figure of winged lion, probably originally with bull's horns. *Iraq*, 1950, p. 26 and 31, Plate xix and Fig. 22 (8). Acquired in 1884 by the then Marquis, the celebrated Orientalist, grandfather of the present owner. In 1884 the Marquis was French Ambassador in Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. Height 0.46 m.
2. *Berlin V.A.* Foot with inlays and falling leaves. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, II, 485-7; *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Fig. 14 and Fig. 22, 9. Found in the "Temple Area" on the West Slope by Lehmann-Haupt and Belck. Height 0.217 m.

\* \* \*

The following two pieces may be parts of the stool or even of (say) the back of the throne.

3. *B.M.* 91248. Winged bull (or bull-lion ?) *couchant* and *regardant*, with face missing, heading to left. Height 0.105 m., breadth 13 cm. *Iraq*, XII, p. 6 and Plate V. Obtained not, as Piotrovskii states, from Rassam's dig, but from a native through Sir H. Layard in 1877. On the top of head a small mortise for attaching volute (see 4).
4. *Hermitage* 16091. Similar winged bull (or bull-lion ?) *couchant* and *regardant*, with face missing, heading to right. Height 0.106 m., breadth 0.10 m. It is clear, as Piotrovskii saw, that this piece is the fellow of the last. It differs from it only by the survival of a small double curl on its head.

B.B. Piotrovskii, *Trudy*, I, Fig. opp. p. 86; *Urtu* (1939), pl. 20. *Istoria i Kul'tura Urartu*, 35, fig. 3. See Plate III, 3. Bought 1885, see below.

\* \* \*

#### BED (?)

1. *B.M.* 91164. Foot of a throne, in form of lion's paw. Height 0.19 m. *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 630 and Plate III. Inscribed on inside IIII. Acquired in 1877.
2. *B.M.* 91203 & 7 = 123890. Another foot (mentioned *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 6; since restored from fragments). Height 0.17 m. This piece shows several places where faults in the metal casting were cut out and patched in antiquity.
3. Certain *B.M.* fragments with openwork patterns are probably to be attributed to this piece.

#### THRONE.

1. *B.M.* 91247. Human-headed winged bull woman. Face lost. Height 0.203, breadth 0.164. See *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 6, Plates VI, VII 1, and Fig. 22 (5). For hieroglyphs *ibid.* p. 6.  
Acquired through Layard in 1877.
2. *Berlin V.A.* 775. Winged gryphon, with capital (once inlaid), on head. Height 0.217 m., breadth, 0.28. *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Plate XVIII 1, p. 20; Fig. 22 (6).

<sup>1</sup> I am deeply indebted to the present Marquis for his courtesy and kindness in allowing me to examine this and the other Urartian bronzes in his possession.



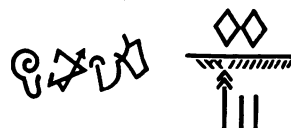
3. *Hermitage* (Uvarova Coll. No. 498). Winged bull-bird(?), *passant regardant*, heading to left. Back views only: Uvarova, *Katalog Sobranya Drevnostei* Pl. iv. Height 0.225, breadth 0.15 m. *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 22, Plate XXI and Fig. 22 (8). Piotrovskii loc. cit., Pl. V. Acquired before 1886 by Countess Uvarova. Front view, Fig. 17, after Piotrovskii, *Ist. i Kul'tura Urartu* (1944), fig. 64.

On this subject Piotrovskii adds the following interesting information<sup>1</sup>:

"Face probably human<sup>2</sup>, made of stone, missing, like the inlay of the left wing. The right wing is without inlay. On the neck a rectangular mortise for attaching the figure by means of a tenon to other parts of the object. The statuette is solid, was covered with leaf gold, insignificant traces of which survive on the edges of the wings and on the belly of the bull.

On the upper part of the head decoration are two groups of engraved signs : "

The addition of these signs to the growing corpus of Urartian hieroglyphs is very welcome.



4. To another stage in the throne must belong another figure, mentioned in my article as described by Raynolds but lost, "the body part of a lion, with wings . . . . To this is added a human head, shoulders and hands, the latter folded in front. The face is ivory".



FIG. 16. Front view of bronze female sphinx with inlaid face, see p. 12, — no. 4. (Hermitage).

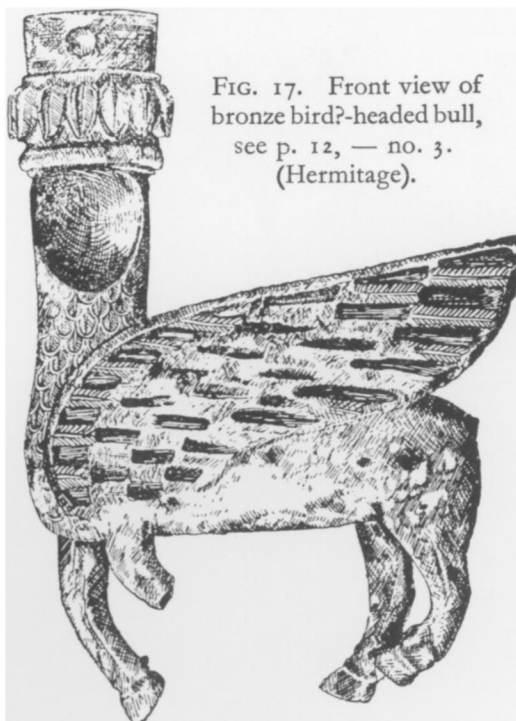


FIG. 17. Front view of bronze bird-headed bull, see p. 12, — no. 3. (Hermitage).

From Raynold's description and the size which he quotes it is clear that the piece to which he refers is the one now in the Hermitage<sup>3</sup>, to be described.

<sup>1</sup> *Trudy*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> I doubt this.

<sup>3</sup> I am much indebted to Mr. Charles Wilkinson,

of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, for first drawing my attention to this piece in the above-mentioned Russian publication.

*Hermitage* 16002. (See *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 22 n. 2.).

Winged sphinx with lion's body and human torso. She looks firmly in front, with her hands clasped as a sign of devotion. The chest is feathered but covered above with a fleecy garment thrown obliquely under the arm and over the left shoulder. Under this was a short-sleeved tight-fitting garment with a V-shaped patterned neck. The face is not of ivory but white stone in which the eyes and eyebrows are inlaid. She wears bracelets on her wrists and a lunate ornament like that of B.M. 91247 (no. 1 *supra*) slung round her neck. On her head is a pair of horns and a low feathered crown with a band of rosettes. On the bottoms of the feet are projections for attachment. On the base of the left-hand foot are marks 'll. Height 0.160 m.; breadth from wrists to wingtip 0.150. Originally gilded. The belly is girdled with an incised strap and knot, a motif which is found on doorway-figures of Aššur-našir-pal's palace at Nimrud, but which, in fact, is derived from the custom of putting such straps as leashes round hunting dogs<sup>1</sup> in Ancient Babylonia. This is well shown in a terracotta, B.M. 91911. The same feature occurs on the lion in the fine jasper group from el-Amarna (B.M. 22866) showing a lion attacking a bull. The leash indicates that the creature wearing it is a domesticated hunting animal, which stands ready to fly at evildoers or intruders.

Mr. Wilkinson points out to me that this piece differs from B.M. 91247 (no. 1 *supra*) by having no leafy unit above the head. It is certainly possible that this was made separately; but whether it would have even then been as tall as the B.M. piece is doubtful. The piece as a whole has a clumsy, slightly more "uncomfortable" look (to use Mr. Wilkinson's word) than the others, and is probably from another artist's hand.

Piotrovskii, *Trudy* I, 50, pls. II-III; *idem*, *Urartu* (1939), pl. 19; *idem*, *Ist. i Kul'tura Urartu* 32-33 (1944), figs. 1, 2. Here Plate III, 1 and Fig. 16.

Acquired in 1885. See below.

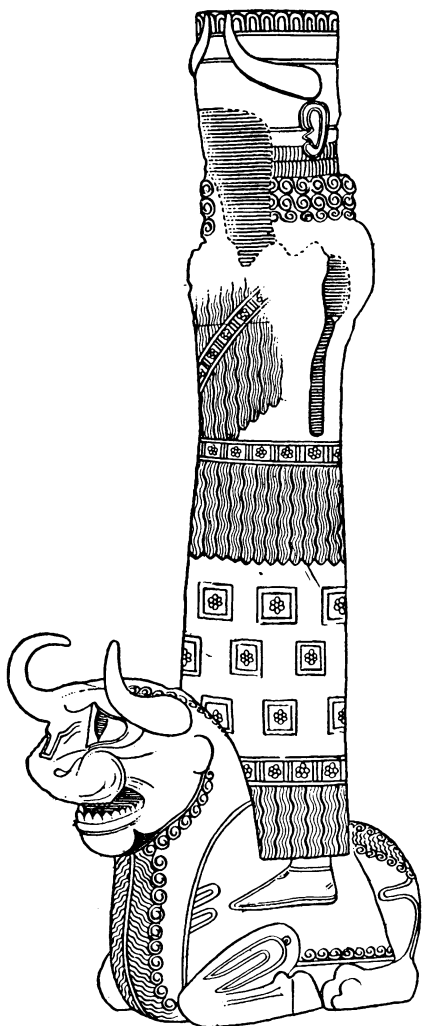


FIG. 18. Figure in the Stoclet Collection.

*Upper register. (Divinities on the backs of animals.)*

5. *Louvre*: Monster, half lion half bull, with lion's head but bull's ears, lion's body but bull's hooves. On its back the lower part of a standing god survives.

Acquired in 1885. Heuzey, *Les origines orientales de l'art*, pl. 9. *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 24; Plate XVIII: Fig. 22, 3.

Height 0.15 cms., breadth 0.14 cms.

6. *Stoclet Collection, Brussels*. Figure similar to last, but with horns better preserved. The eyes, once inlaid, are missing. On his back stands the figure of a god wearing a fleecy-edged garment wrapped round under right shoulder and over left, and covering a skirt ornamented with square patterns. The face and arms were

evidently made separately, the left arm hanging down, doubtless holding something. The head carries a pair of horns and a divine crown. Traces of gilding.

This piece is of particular importance in being complete to the top of the head, and I am particularly indebted to M. Jacques Stoclet for permitting me to publish it for the first time. Fig. 18. Ht. 30 cm., length 15 cm., max. width 7 cm.

(See *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 22.)

7. B.M. 91243. Kneeling bull or bull-lion, the face missing. On his back remains of standing figure of god, similar to last. Traces of gilding. Height 0.215 cms., breadth 0.11 cms.

*Iraq*, XII, pt. 1, p. 15; Plate VII 3; Fig. 22 (2).

Acquired from excavations of Capt. Clayton and Raynolds, 1880.

8. *Hermitage*, Uvarova, 497. Kneeling bull (or bull-lion?), face lost; on his back, remains of standing figure of god similar to last. Traces of gilding. (Piotrovskii gives the height 0.230 m.)

Uvarova, *Katalog*; Piotrovskii, *Trudy* I, Plate IV; *Istoriya i Kul'tura Urartu*, fig. 4; Barnett, *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 22, Plate XXI, 1.

9. *Metropolitan Museum* 50.163. Figure similar to last, but less of the divinity preserved. Traces of gilding. Height 0.175 m. Acquired 1950. Formerly in private possession in Rome. Rodney, *Met. Mus. Bulletin*, March 1952, fig. on p. 216. Plate III, 1.

\* \* \*

It will be noticed that the above series of five pieces fall into two groups (a), (5) and (6), in which the god stands on a lion-faced bull with face of bronze and lion's hind feet; (b) (7), (8) and (9), in which he stood on a human-faced bull.

Mr. Wilkinson has suggested to me (without knowledge of the Stoclet piece) that there were originally six pieces of this type, of which the four corner animals would have ivory or stone faces "and the two in the middle (to fill that very unconvincing space) have gilded bronze faces" (as 5, 6, have); "or else that there were two thrones with very similar figures, one with bronze figures and one with inlaid faces".

#### *Upper part of throne.*

1. B.M. 91251. Angle piece of seat. Acquired through Layard in 1877. *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 6; Plates II, and IV, 3; Fig. 22, 1. Height 0.085; length 0.15 m.

2. B.M. 91253. Part of arm of throne, with couchant lion, on top of pillar modelled to resemble crossed reeds. Traces of gilding. *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Plate XI, 1-3, p. 15; Fig. 22, 1. Height 0.28 m., breadth 0.056 m.

That this system of crossed reeds represents a tradition in some sorts of furniture going back to Sumerian times is suggested by two ivory inlays from Mari showing figures seated on such thrones<sup>1</sup>. Fig. 19.

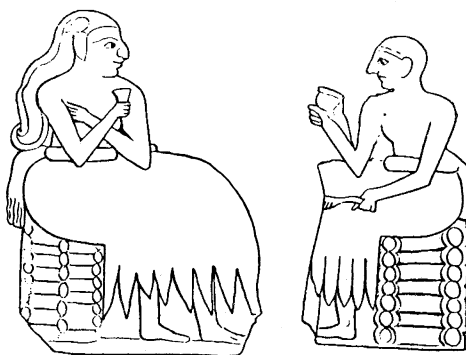


FIG. 19.

Figures carved in ivory (from Mari).

<sup>1</sup> Parrot, *La Huitième Campagne de Mari*, Pl. IV, fig. 8. (*Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* II, 1952.

I am deeply obliged to M. Parrot for allowing me to reproduce this illustration.

3. *De Vogüé collection*. Beam with crossed reeds. Height 31 cms. Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit., II, 725, fig. 304; Tenysheva, *Email i Inkrustatsia* (1930). *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Plate XXII, 6.

Acquired by 1885.

Mr. Charles Wilkinson kindly informs me that a further piece was formerly in the collection of Mr. Brummer in New York, but it appears to be lost.

\* \* \*

### *The reconstruction*

When I wrote my previous article, I reconstructed the pieces as parts of a throne on the basis of conjecture. This conjecture now receives a certain modest measure of confirmation from Piotrovskii's article, where a letter, originally in Armenian from an inhabitant of Van, is published. This letter, dated 10-22 July, 1884, preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Science in Moscow, is of some importance in the untangling of the problems of Toprak Kale and must be translated in full. It is addressed to Professor K. Patkanoff<sup>1</sup> by a person to be described shortly. It reads:—

“More than six years ago I gradually acquired in Vaspurakan<sup>2</sup> the following antiquities, which I keep most carefully as priceless pearls of national antiquities dating from prehistoric times, since they can throw new light both on the history of our life in the past and on modern science generally. Here is a short list:

1. A great shield of oval form in pure copper, engraved with skilfully executed figures of lions and griffins, engraved in two rows. Around the shield is cuneiform.
2. A small idol of a goddess, of the same material, covered with pure gold. The head of the figure is lost, but the half of a head found beside the figure seems to belong to her.
3. Figure of a griffin ('bird-lion'), the same material, and formerly covered with pure gold. A sketch of it is attached as a specimen. Although the ancient metal was copper, it still possesses considerable weight, but the gold covering has disappeared, partly in consequence of being buried in the ruins from time immemorial, partly because it was pulled off by the discoverers, who did not know what they were finding.
4. Red clay jugs (for water) on some of which is cuneiform.
5. Farmer's ploughshare, of incredible size.
6. Hammers (not separable).

<sup>1</sup> This gentleman, *alias* Kerovp'e Patkanian (1827-1886), was a member of a family of Nahçevan, known in Turkish circles under the name of Munasibian. He was professor of Armenian and Eastern History and Literatures at the Lazarist Academy in Moscow. He wrote, *inter alia*, a History

of Urartu (1884). For this and the information about the Devgants family I am deeply indebted to Mr. A. Safrastian, formerly of Van, a mine of erudition on all matters connected with Armenia.

<sup>2</sup> The province of Armenia in which Van is situated. See map, *Iraq*, XII, pt. 1, Fig. 1.

7. What is probably a sacrificial table with round holes, on the sides of which were probably inscriptions.

8. Two bowls of the same metal, one solid, the other fine, and ornamented.

9. The points of spears.

10. Multi-coloured mosaic executed in fine taste, from palace or temple . . . small details of different ornaments, cuneiform."

"These antiquities, which belong to me, were found near Aigestan,<sup>1</sup> in the ruins of the fortress called 'Zemzem Magara',<sup>2</sup> which seems rather to have been a palace or a big temple in the roof. At the foot of this mountain is situated 'the door of Meher',<sup>3</sup> all covered with cuneiform, which has been copied in the past."

"Last year the English dug a fair amount in these extensive ruins at the expense of the British Museum. A beautiful building resembling a palace was discovered. But in spite of the great expenses incurred they extracted only one shield and a little figure, similar to mine, to which the British press attached very great importance.<sup>4</sup> They intended to investigate (this site) in detail.

*Once there was discovered in these ruins a quantity of magnificent objects, such as an incredibly large throne, all covered with cuneiform and gilding, but it is painful to relate, that when I returned from Europe I learnt it had been split up and destroyed.*"<sup>5</sup>

"I remember in my youth what a vast amount of different figures were found in these ruins; but (the natives) taking them for the accursed work of devils' or djinns' hands, beat them to pieces with a hammer and broke them up to make bronze vessels, shovels or plough shares. . . . In order to extend my archaeological investigation and to acquire more valuable antiquities, I am forced against my wishes to sell those antiquities in my possession . . . accordingly I am approaching you with a request that you should offer them to the St. Petersburg Museum.

"With the help of the Russian consul in Van, my friend K. Kamsarakan, I shall pack it all up and forward it to you, undertaking myself all the costs of despatch, and I will agree to whatever you settle with the director of the Museum. I undertake to weigh and seal everything. I suppose that the least of those antiquities is worth 3-5,000 (roubles), but still more, if I sent them to London or Paris."

<sup>1</sup> "The garden city stretching east of the walled city of Van, marked C on Lynch's map. *Armenia II* opp. 81" (A. Safrastian).

<sup>2</sup> *lit.* Cave of Zemzem, a spring at Mecca which, according to Moslem tradition, was struck by Abraham. This is the large underground "cistern" on Toprak Kale. See *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 24. Mr. Seton Lloyd, however, informs me that after inspection of it he is convinced it is not a cistern but an underground temple.

(1677)

<sup>3</sup> Meher-kapusu. *lit.* "door of Meher", a niche containing an Urartian inscription of Išpuiuis and Menuas (Lehman-Haupt, *Corp. Inscript. Chald.* 18), regarding the Urartian pantheon. The subject matter of this inscription confirms Mr. Lloyd's suggestion in note 2 above.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps refers to the ivory figure, *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 10, Fig. 6.

<sup>5</sup> My italics—R.D.B.

This letter is signed by a person whose first name is given as Sedrak, but whose family name is said to be "illegible". From Mr. Safrastian, whose kindness in supplying information I have already referred to above, I learn that the author was Mr. Sedrak Devgants of Van. Mr. Safrastian refers me to D. H. Müller's remarks on *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, phil.-hist. kl. 13 & 36 (1886) p. 15, who writes "Im Dezember voriges Jahr (*i.e.*, in 1885 . . .) bot hier ein Armenischer Antiquitäten-handler aus Van, namens Dewgantz, einige Bronzegegenstände zum Verkaufe an. Darunter befanden sich eine füsshöhe vergoldete Statue, welche einen König von Van darstellen mag, und ein Schild mit einer Inschrift der König Rušaš." According to Mr. Safrastian, Devgants died in France in 1937, no doubt carrying him with valuable archaeological information to the grave.

Several things, however, become clearer from the letter, which bears all the stamp of truthfulness. There were, first of all, illicit excavations in the author's childhood, perhaps in the early seventies, the results of which were destroyed. This phase may be connected with the British Museum's first acquisition of a piece from Van in 1874 (see *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 2). Then came the main find of the throne—apparently before 1877, when pieces were offered to Layard in Istanbul.

The writer of the letter, as he said, acquired his collection "more than six years ago", *i.e.*, in the years immediately before 1878, *i.e.*, in those illicit excavations in which the throne was found. The first visit of Rassam, then, no doubt introduced a pause, and when the writer returned from Europe the throne had been broken up. It is interesting to notice that in his letter he offers for sale at least one object (the griffin) which we have reason to believe formed part of this throne, though the other items assigned to it in our catalogue do not figure in his list of antiquities.

In any event, it is clear that St. Petersburg Museum did not bite at the bait.

Several, however, of the items can, as Piotrovskii points out,<sup>1</sup> be recognised as objects purchased by the Berlin Museum, and afterwards published by Lehmann-Haupt. The shield, No. 1, is doubtless<sup>2</sup> that in Berlin, published first in 1907. The "idol" or figure of a goddess he identifies with the "eunuch" figure, Berlin (VA. 774), but if once gilded, it is no longer so. The griffin is, of course, that in Berlin<sup>3</sup> (VA. 775). One bowl, the ornamented example, is in Berlin (VA. 796)<sup>4</sup>. The curious sacrificial table seems to be lost, and the immense ploughshare is not heard of again. The red clay jugs may be among those in Berlin.

<sup>1</sup> *Trudy I*, p. 50. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren-Gesch. Armeniens. Abb. Kon. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen* N.F. IX, 3, 1907, fig. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, loc. cit., fig. 69. Barnett,

*Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1. Plate XX.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, loc. cit., fig. 66. Barnett, Plate XVIII.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, loc. cit., fig. 71.

There can now be little doubt also that the "Armenian gentleman" described to Birch by Raynolds in his letter of February 27th, 1884,<sup>1</sup> as "taking some interest in such things and possessing a number of articles which seem properly to belong in some public collection and which he is willing to dispose of . . ." was Sedrak (Devstants), in particular as the objects Raynolds mentions as offered to himself tally with Nos. 2, 3 and 9 of the latter's letter to Patkanoff.

As I stated in *Iraq*, XII, pt. 1, on June 20th, Raynolds reported that "a working man who has been doing some excavating on his own hook in the vicinity of the trenches Mr. Rassam opened when here," was offering for sale a figure which from the description was that of a winged female-headed sphinx. In my article of 1950 I described this object as unknown and apparently lost. But after Mr. Wilkinson drew my attention to the publications of Piotrovskii, it became obvious that the piece is that now in the Hermitage (Plate III, 2). On this subject Piotrovskii quotes the following important entry by F. G. Bernshtam from the archives of the Hermitage in 1885:—

"Sold to me for the Department of Antiquities of the Hermitage for 3,000 roubles the following Assyrian objects, to wit: 1 silver bracelet (with lion heads), 1 similar of bronze but broken,<sup>2</sup> 1 bronze winged lion with human head of alabaster, 1 bronze goat with damaged face, 1 bronze staff end, 1 bronze ring, 1 piece of bronze armour, bronze fragments and several pieces of alabaster. All these found by Mr. K. Kamsarakan at Van on the hill of Toprak Kale in 1884."

"The bronze winged lion with human head of alabaster" is the sphinx, Hermitage 16002. "The bronze goat with damaged face" is presumably the winged bull, Hermitage 16001. The remaining items are unpublished. It is now further clear that the "working man" who visited Mr. Raynolds was an emissary or employee of Messrs. Devstants and Kamsarakan, the Russian Consul, who were then excavating the site to some profit, without a firman.

\* \* \*

But to return to the footstool and the throne:—

The modifications to the reconstruction in *Iraq*, XII, pt. 1, Fig. 22, which the new material suggests, are few but important:—

### *Footstool*

There are traces of an attachment in the head of the de Vogüé lion: this suggests that there was a horizontal bar at the level of his head running to some similar figure at the back. For this the winged couchant bull (Hermitage 16001, p. 12, item 4 supra) and B.M. 91248 (p. 12, item 3 supra) are too small.

<sup>1</sup> *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Georg Pudelko, *Altpersische Armbänder*, A.F.O IX, 1933-4, Plate IV, Figs. 4, 5, illustrated a silver bracelet in Berlin (Antiquarium) which was found "south of Van", i.e., probably not at Toprak Kale.

He also mentions another in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung, and another of bronze in the British Museum (12546). These may be compared with the Hermitage pieces.

*Throne**Lower register*

(i) The Berlin griffin (p. 12. Throne item 2 above) seems to have belonged to the further side, together with Uvarova's piece, to judge from what can be seen from photographs of the patterning on the wing (which is usually on these figures inlaid on the side meant to face outwards, cross-hatched on the side facing inwards).

(ii) It may be significant that the ivory figure of a naked woman holding her breasts (*Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Plate XIV, 11.3) when combined with her pedestal (*ibid.* Fig. 4) reaches a total height of about 22 cms., which is approximately the same height as the bronze monsters of the lower register. It seems very likely, therefore, that she is to be restored there. The ivory male figure wearing a fleecy garment (*ibid.* Plate XIV) is also 22 cms. high without the tenon below his feet, and may also belong to the same register. As he is clearly not meant to be seen from the back, the treatment of his dress being unfinished there, one is tempted to assign both him and, for reasons of symmetry, the woman also to the front view of the throne.

*Upper register*

The surviving examples of male gods on the backs of animals, as mentioned above, now number five. Two stand on lion-bulls with bronze lion faces, three on lion-bulls with formerly inlaid faces which I would restore as those of men. How these pieces were originally distributed is not clear. It is possible, but not certain, that they originally formed an even number, *e.g.*, six. Mr. Wilkinson has suggested to me that there were three in the front view of the throne, on the analogy of the piece of furniture depicted on a votive cylinder from Persepolis<sup>1</sup>, where three figures wearing high headdresses "increase the waters". This is plausible; he alternatively suggests there were two thrones; but this view seems to me unnecessary. There may have been on the one throne three human-faced bulls in the front and two lion-faced bulls at the rear. There is an important document, admittedly somewhat difficult to interpret, yet relevant, which seems to confirm the use of three figures in front. This is a terracotta Babylonian plaque in the British Museum of Ur III period (B.M. 123287). It shows a figure of a god with a series of weapons behind him, sitting(?), not, I think, as described in the publication<sup>2</sup>, in a chariot, but on a piece of furniture, which is supported by monsters with gorgon faces at each corner (before whom stand smaller bearded figures) and by a figure in the centre. This figure is flanked by a pair of lions on each side, but I think they are meant to be imagined as on the (invisible) sides of

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, *O.I.C.* 21, p. 42, Fig. 26; see *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1 p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M.Q.*, VIII, 1933, Plate Xa.



the piece of furniture, since lions in front view are not suitable ornaments to go in the front of a throne by reason of the shape of their bodies, half of which would be lost to view in that position.

It is possible that the corner figures of the Toprak Kale throne were turned outwards in a three-quarters view. This is strongly suggested by the oval marking on the underside of the corner piece, B.M. 9125, shown in *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Plate IV, Fig. 3. This oval looks very much like the impression of a headdress such as are worn by the gods on the animals; but in the absence of a rubbing or measurements of the top of the Stoclet figure, a decision is premature.<sup>1</sup>

### Arms

Piotrovskii would place here the pair of small couchant bull-lions in the B.M. and Hermitage (our Cat. above, p. 12, 3 & 4). Evidence seems to me insufficient.

The de Vogüé bar, formed as crossed reeds, is suitable in height to stand upright, parallel to the B.M. piece with couchant lion (B.M. 91253), and may have borne a similar lion, now lost.

The ivory eagle-headed men (*Iraq*, XII, pt. 1, Plate XV) may have upheld the arms, perhaps standing one above the other. Figures with raised arms are normal in this position—witness the throne of Ishtar at Malta, *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Fig. 16.

\* \* \*

The bronze 'eunuch' in Berlin (*Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Plate XX; 37.5 cms. high) and the Hermitage female-headed sphinx (Catalogue above p. 12, 4, height 0.16 m.) do not appear from their size to fit into the throne, as it has been envisaged at present. The sphinx in particular seems to differ in style from the other pieces, and is doubtless by another hand.

### Technique

Piotrovskii in his article<sup>2</sup> asserts that these pieces are cast by the *cire perdue* process and describes the method at length. From the pieces I have examined in the British Museum there is no doubt, as stated in *Iraq*, XII, pt. 1, that they were cast, not by *cire perdue*, but in sectional moulds, the resultant parts being fused together and chased. This is clear from the joints, which are easy to find. It is, of course, the only satisfactory method which would serve to produce, as here, more than one figure of exactly similar shape and size, as with *cire perdue* method the mould normally must be destroyed.

\* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> The B.M. oval marking significantly bears traces of gold leaf. It has a cylindrical form, outside diam. 0.030 m., inside diam. 0.020 m. M. Stoclet kindly informs me that the top of the headdress of his figure is also cylindrical, outside diam. 0.040 m., inside diam.

0.030 m. This seems to me near enough. There was probably an intervening member, diminishing in size upwards.

<sup>2</sup> *Trudy* I, 55-56.

There is, unfortunately, not space enough nor time at present to review here the interesting and important question of the relations of Urartian art on the one hand to Anatolian, Mesopotamian and Elamite art, and with Achaemenid art on the other. It is hoped to discuss them at some time in the future. This is now an easier task than formerly, when so few examples of Urartian art were available. In any event, it is clear from the information presented above, that in that art the Toprak Kale throne occupied a very important place.

From the important letter of Sedrak (Devstants), who, though no archaeologist, was apparently an eye-witness of the throne in its original state of discovery in the early 1870s (or, at least, in close touch with others who were), it is clear that what we have left now are the still striking remains of one of the most splendid monuments of ancient Oriental religion, and one of the most remarkable examples of ancient metallurgy to survive into our times. It is much to be hoped that it may eventually prove possible, by means of casts of the surviving *disjecta membra*, to re-attain some semblance of how this piece of furniture originally appeared.

The Excavations of Nimrud, 1949-53

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A.D. 695/6. This important coin was, therefore, issued in the year preceding the famous coinage reform of the Caliph, when iconography was superseded and only Arabic legends were allowed to appear on the coins. This *ḍinār*, like the other, was undoubtedly minted at Damascus.

JOHN WALKER

## THE EXCAVATIONS OF NIMRUD, 1949-53

IN 1949 Professor M. E. L. Mallowan, on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, of which he is director, reopened a series of excavating campaigns in Iraq at Nimrud, a former Assyrian military capital anciently known as Kalḥu, the Biblical Calah of Genesis x. 12. This site was originally excavated by A. H. Layard from 1845, first on a patron's account, later by himself under the auspices of this Museum. It provided a rich harvest of antiquities, particularly sculptures, but had lain virtually untouched (except for small operations) from his time and that of Hormuzd Rassam, his assistant, till the present. The British School of Archaeology in Iraq has presented each year to this Museum a selection of the finds assigned to the School by courtesy of the Iraq Government, the presentation being in return for technical assistance of various kinds by the staff of the British Museum, one of whom has attended the excavations as epigraphist during four of the campaigns. The following is a brief summary of the material received by the British Museum, excluding perhaps the most notable piece of all, the magnificent ivory panel which has already been described and illustrated in this *Quarterly*.<sup>1</sup>

Thirty-three inscribed tablets and one complete cylinder have been added to the Museum's collection of cuneiform inscriptions. The cylinder (B.M. 131129,  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4$  in. diam. with a slight chip), written in 672 B.C., gives details of the 'new palace' built at Kalḥu for Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (681-669 B.C.). He records that the older palace of his predecessor Shalmaneser III, located in the centre of the acropolis, was dilapidated and inadequate. The text of sixty-three lines<sup>2</sup> is of special interest, for it is the first of this king's building inscriptions to be found at Nimrud although his ('South-West') palace was partially uncovered by Layard in 1847.<sup>3</sup> The inscription also enables broken building records of the same king at the city Tarbiṣu,<sup>4</sup> written in the following year, to be restored.

The excavations in the Governor's Palace in 1950 resulted in the discovery of a notable historical text. Only a few yards to the north-west of the Nabū Temple where in 1875 George Smith, of the British Museum, found a large tablet (K. 3751) which formed part of an account of the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.), a further fragment of the Royal Annals of the same

king was found. The text (B.M. 131982) of twenty-seven lines is unfortunately broken, but gives new details of the Assyrian campaign against the Phoenician-Philistine coastal cities in 734 B.C.<sup>5</sup> The broad outline of the Assyrian king's military operations has long been known from Rawlinson's publication of the *Annals*,<sup>6</sup> but this fragment is the only extant document giving details of a campaign which followed Tiglath-pileser's reception of tribute from Menahem of Israel.<sup>7</sup> As the Assyrian armies moved victoriously down the Mediterranean coast they amassed much booty, including ivory, spices, horses, and precious objects from seven cities, which they captured without opposition and incorporated into the wide-spreading Assyrian provincial administration. They met, however, stiff resistance from two tribes which were 'on the borders of Bit Ḥumri' (i.e. Israel). A decisive victory enabled Tiglath-pileser to advance southwards. Hanunu, King of Gaza, fled at his approach and the city capitulated. To mark the ensuing change of rule and allegiance, golden statues and emblems of the Assyrian king and gods, doubtless fashioned from captured materials, were set up in the palace and city. A similar reminder of Assyrian domination seems to have been imposed upon Jerusalem a few years later.<sup>8</sup> The Assyrians marched as far as 'the city of the brook of Egypt'.<sup>9</sup> The broken text concludes with a reference to the *maḥḥe* or 'prophets' and seems to be an instance of supernatural guidance in state affairs conveyed through cult officials.

The remaining inscriptions of this collection (131952-79) are mainly Assyrian administrative documents but include a number of letters addressed to the busy district-governor of Kalḫu. One (B.M. 131994), sent by his son away in Babylonia, asks why his father has not replied to two letters and concludes with a request for more money (?). These texts, with the writing-board described below, show that much important Assyrian historical material yet remains at Nimrud despite the fact that the earlier excavators, Layard, Rassam, Smith and Loftus, found few inscribed tablets, though they enriched the Museum's collection by discovering the Nimrud sculptures, ivories, and bronzes.

A well in the North-West Palace, in Room AB, where Layard had found a collection of bronzes, was reopened in 1953. Fragments of ivory and wooden writing-boards were found preserved in the silt below the water-level. The inscription on the ivory cover<sup>10</sup> of what proves to be a sixteen-leaved polyptych shows that these were made for Sargon II, about 715 B.C., for the library of his palace at Khorsabad. Fragments of wax associated with the boards and bearing remains of writing confirm that this, the earliest known form of ancient book,<sup>11</sup> contained the cuneiform text of the long astrological omen series called, after the opening words, *Enuma Anu Enlil*. Although it has long been surmised that the Assyrians, like the Hittites and Etruscans, used wax-covered boards ((*iš*)*lē'u*) for their inscriptions as an alternative to the more common clay tablet, this *de luxe* edition is the first actual example to have been recovered. The boards were

broken when the hinges, possibly of gold, were ripped off and the boards thrown down the well. Three boards have been restored and added to this collection (B.M. 131952-4, see Pl. VIIa). There are parts of several others.

The largest group of objects, after the tablets, consists of Phoenician and Syrian carved ivories, mostly from the North-West Palace, where Layard found a notable collection, and the so-called 'Burnt Palace' in the opposite (south-east) corner of the mound. Those from the North-West Palace are mostly from small pieces of furniture, except for one large portion perhaps of a chair representing the hindquarters of a lion (130846). Those found in the 'Burnt Palace' are fragments from the collection originally discovered there by W. K. Loftus in 1854. Two pieces (131141-2) actually join portions already in the Museum's collections received at that time. One pair is shown on Plate VIIb. The most striking object apart from these ivories is a fine cylinder seal of chalcedony showing a feathered figure supporting a winged emblem of the god Assur (130865, Pl. VIIc).

R. D. BARNETT

D. J. WISEMAN

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xix, p. 37 and pl. xvi a.

<sup>2</sup> Published by D. J. Wiseman in *Iraq*, xiv, 54-60.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii, 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Essad Nassouhi, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen-Gesellschaft*, iii, 1/2, pp. 22-32.

<sup>5</sup> D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq*, xiii, 21-24.

<sup>6</sup> H. C. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iii, 10, No. 2 (British Museum, 1870).

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings xv. 20 (see also *Iraq*, xv, 135).

<sup>8</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff.: 'And king Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and saw the altar that was in Damascus: and the king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of the altar and the pattern of it according to the workmanship thereof: and Urijah the priest built an altar.'

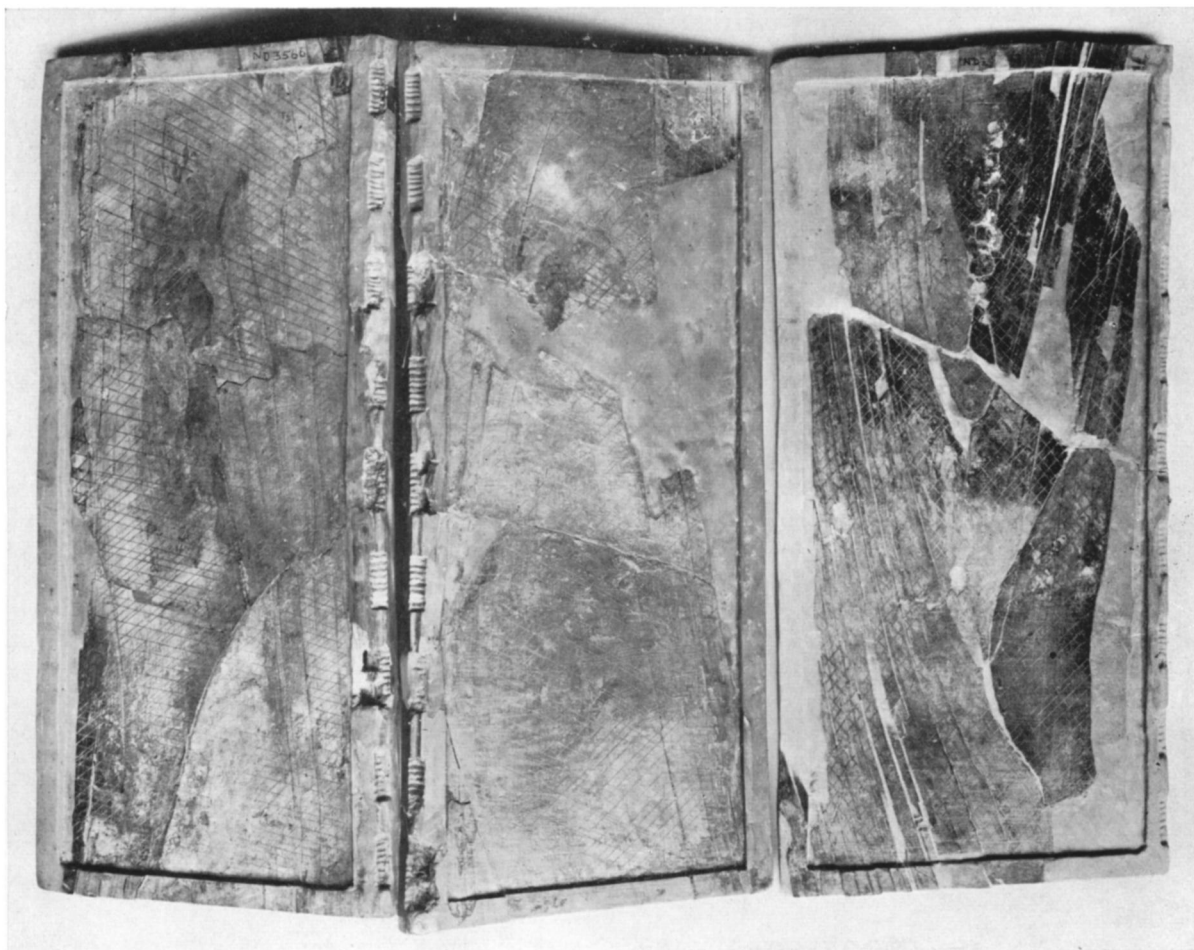
<sup>9</sup> *Nahalmuşur*, the modern Wady al-'Arish.

<sup>10</sup> Now in the Iraq Museum (ND 3557). *Iraq*, vol. xvi, pl. xxiii.

<sup>11</sup> See *Iraq*, xvi (1954), p. 99; xvii (1955), pp. 3-13.

## AN EARLY PĀLA BODHISATTVA

THE sculpture of the Pāla dynasty, which ruled Bengal and Bihar from the middle of the eighth to the twelfth century A.D., is probably better represented in the Museum than in any other collection outside India. The finest piece in the collection, of unusual interest and quality, has remained unpublished (Pl. VIII). It was acquired in 1924, when the Museum purchased a collection of Pāla sculpture made in India by Sir William Bourdillon, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The piece is of buff sandstone, and stands 3 feet high. The head is missing: the break is presumably an old one, since several iron pins remain sunk in the neck. Curled locks of hair hang over the chest and shoulders. From the centre of the necklace (*mālā*) hangs a charm-box, to which is attached



*a*



*b*



*c*

VII. *a.* Assyrian ivory writing-boards of the late 8th century B.C. (slightly restored)  
*b.* Fragments of an ivory pyxis from Nimrud in Syrian style  
*c.* Chalcedony cylinder-seal showing mythical scene



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The Treasure of Ziwiye

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## THE TREASURE OF ZIWIYE

By R. D. BARNETT

THE first account of the discovery of the Treasure of Ziwiye was published in two places by the then Director of Antiquities of the Persian Government, M. André Godard. The first, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye: (Editions de l'Institut Franco-Iranien)* gave the text of his lecture to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. The other was *Le Trésor de Ziwiye*, a beautifully illustrated book published at Haarlem in 1950 by the Iranian Archaeological Service. For these publications we are deeply grateful to M. Godard. I need not describe this collection in detail, only mention that it consists of objects of gold, ivory and bronze of great beauty, variety and interest which were discovered, unfortunately in the course of clandestine excavations, at Ziwiye near Sakkez in Azerbaijan 120 km. south east of Lake Urmia. It is now dispersed, some pieces being in Teheran, others in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, others elsewhere. According to M. Godard, some of the pieces, e.g., those of ivory, are Assyrian work of the ninth-eighth century B.C., and were exported from Assyria to Sakkez. The other objects, in M. Godard's view, belong to the ninth century, or in some cases to the seventh century B.C. The fact that some of these pieces contain motifs and features hitherto regarded as characteristic of Phoenician, or in other cases of Scythian art of the sixth century B.C., is explained by M. Godard by means of a new and striking theory: that we have (except in the case of the ivories, which he considers Assyrian) in these mixed works of art examples of the native art of the kingdom of Mannai, an art which later was appropriated or copied by the immigrating Scythian tribes, who afterwards dispersed it widely, and thereby caused it to be known to the modern world as Scythian. I shall not discuss this theory here, I shall offer only some notes about the dating.

The reason why M. Godard has been impelled to choose the ninth century (a date which appears somewhat unduly early) round which to tie the beginning of the Ziwiye treasure, is his interpretation of certain historical events. Sargon claims that in his sixth year (716 B.C.) he captured and burnt the fortresses of Izibie, Izirtu and Armid in Mannai, belonging to a certain chieftain Ullusun. Ziwiye is by Godard plausibly identified with Izibie. Therefore the whole collection (Godard argues) must be dated prior to 716 B.C. It is almost certainly true that Ziwiye is to be identified with Izibie; but it seems almost certainly untrue that Izibie was then totally destroyed and abandoned, thus giving us a *terminus ante quem*. If we were told, as a result of scientific excavations that no stratum of occupation existed on the mound of Ziwiye after the time

of Sargon, we should have to believe that Sargon destroyed it. But in spite of this attack the place continued to be occupied since the Assyrian Annals record that Aššur-bani-pal in his fifth campaign beseiged Izirtu, Urmete and Uzbia in Mannai. Uzbia is, I think, the same as Izibie, or Ziwiye, and Urmete is Armid. In short we have the same three cities once more mentioned which Sargon according to the Annals burnt in 716, but cannot have annihilated. Thus there is no finality in M. Godard's lower date.

M. R. Ghirshman in his article entitled *Le Trésor de Sakkez*, published in 1950 in *Artibus Asiae*, divides the collection into four groups (1) Assyrian jewellery, (2) Assyrian work containing Scythian elements, (3) purely Scythian work, and (4) local provincial work of Mannai, the district in which Ziwiye lay. I believe he could have added an Urartian element, but he did not then do so. We need only compare the lions on the gold bracelet, Godard, fig. 40, with the lion from Toprak Kale (*Iraq XII*, Part 1, Fig. 2, Pl. XI) noting their peculiar gable-shaped foreheads.

On the question of date, M. Ghirshman considers that these objects illustrate the Scythians' brief heyday, when for fifty years they were a great power on the borders of Iran between 675 and 625 B.C., and that this collection was hidden away about 625 B.C. when the Scythian power collapsed.

There is no time or space to go here into the matter in full detail, but it seems to me beyond doubt that M. Ghirshman's date for the concealment of the treasure is much nearer the truth than M. Godard's; even then, it is doubtful if it is low enough. As to the upper date of this collection, we may accept certain points concerning the ivories. Several of these ivories are now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and Mr. Wilkinson in publishing them has drawn particular attention to certain features of the chariot scenes which, *pâce* M. Godard, cannot be earlier than the time of Tiglath-pileser or much later than that of Sargon.<sup>1</sup> Such details are: the broad band connecting the yoke to the chariot box, which in Assyria was discarded after the time of Tiglath-pileser. There are, in fact, other details which one could point out which are in fact characteristic of Assyria in the time of Sargon. Such details are (for example) the axle placed far back, the raised hump in the top of the box frame at the back, the eight-spoked wheel, the crew of three, and the peculiar system of reins and horse trappings. (One might add too that the sharp angle of wing in the ivory showing a winged figure (Godard, fig. 76) is found first at Khorsabad (Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, pl. 74).) All these can be paralleled in the sculptures of Sargon at Khorsabad—though the pole ending in a flower is a new feature. It is clear in fact that some of these ivories belong to the last quarter of the eighth century B.C., at the earliest (though M. Godard attributes them to the time of Aššur-našir-pal), and in my opinion

<sup>1</sup> *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, April 1952, p. 233ff.

others (Godard, figs. 91-2) are provincial exercises in the Assyrian manner by a local craftsman. Incidentally they provide an interesting sidelight on the date of certain Trans-Caucasian bronze engraved belts. If we compare the chariot-scene on a Ziwiye ivory (Godard, figs 84-5) with a bronze strip from Akthala in the Aras valley, discovered by de Morgan,<sup>1</sup> we see how the chariot

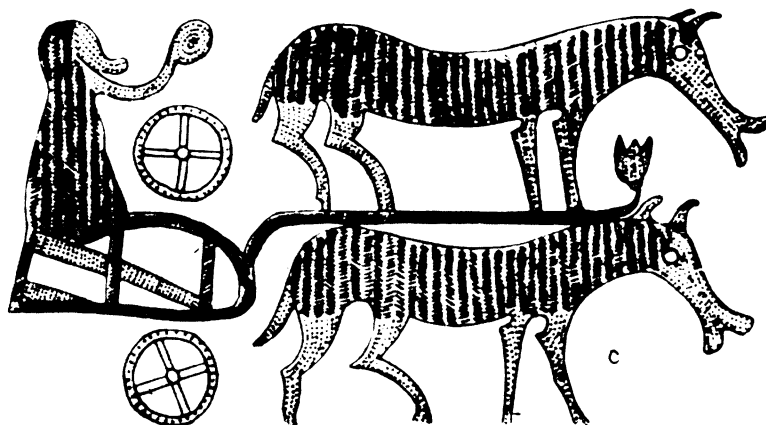


Fig. 1

pole ending in a flower has at Akthala become a triple bud (Fig. 1). It would appear that this clumsy engraving either reflects an actual chariot of the Ziwiye type, or is in fact copied from some work of art like our ivories.

The road from Ziwiye past Lake Urmia to Transcaucasia is direct. Margarethe Falkner, writing in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, (XVI, pp. 129-132), supports Godard in attributing the ivories showing hunting scenes to the time of Tiglath-pileser, adding the looped-up horses' tail to the list of features associated with that monarch. These pieces, she points out, cannot have been made at a royal court, else the king would have taken the central position in all these scenes. They were probably made for an Assyrian officer or governor.

The gold pectoral (Godard, fig. 10) (an ornament of a type worn in Urartu),<sup>2</sup> the most striking piece of the Ziwiye ensemble, dated by Godard to the time of Aššur-našir-pal, is conclusively shown by Dr. Falkner to have no elements attributable to a date before Tiglath-pileser, and in fact to be more probably of the seventh century. As there are in this pectoral undeniable Scythian features, and the Scythians are first heard of in this area in the time of Aššur-bani-pal, we may scarcely date it earlier. Dr. Falkner, however, suggests that it is, in reality, Median workmanship.

The gold plaque with interlacing pattern linked by lions' masks (Godard, fig. 48) and studded with Scythian couchant goats and stags must be connected with the belt from Zakim, of late Urartian date.<sup>3</sup> Schefold<sup>4</sup> working on the

<sup>1</sup> From Hancar, *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, IX, fig. 22.

<sup>2</sup> See *Iraq* XII, Pt. 1, Pls. VI, XX.

<sup>3</sup> Ebert; *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 13, pl. 34 B. See on this Jacobstal, *Greek Pins*, 74, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, XII.

Greek material from South Russia, argued that nothing of Scythian art was earlier than the first half of the sixth century, the earliest material being that from the Kelermes and Melgunov graves, to which similar finds such as the Melgunov and Kostromskaya Kurgans are to be associated. But the finds at Karmir Blur,<sup>1</sup> where several Scythian objects, including a bone horse-bit in the form of a griffin head, were found, have somewhat altered the position. There is some reason to think that Karmir Blur was destroyed, not, as the excavators think, about 585 B.C., but at the end of the seventh century, perhaps even as early as 625 B.C.

Godard's conclusions about the derivation of Scythian art from that of Mannai are not supported by the evidence. The local art of Mannai bore no resemblance to Scythian art. It was crude if lively, but barbarous and provincial in the extreme, an example being the ivory strip (Godard, fig. 91). What is probably another typical example is the bronze bowl with hunting scene in private possession of Mr. Loewenheim which he kindly allows me to publish pls. XVIII–XX with a drawing.<sup>2</sup> Features such as the lined-and-dotted bellies of the goats resemble those on a bronze lion from Hasanlu (Fig. 2).<sup>3</sup>

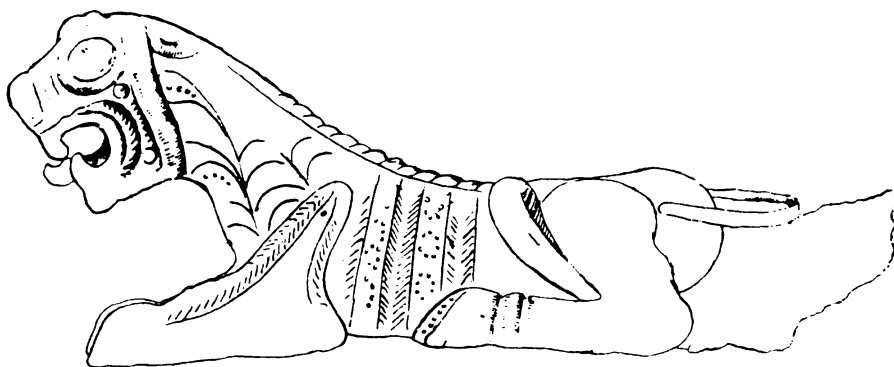


Fig. 2.

Fortunately, however, we can now give a clearer answer to the question of the lowest date, the *terminus ante quem*, the date at which approximately this treasure must have been hidden away. In 1925/6, when Sir Leonard Woolley was excavating at Ur, he found two brick vaulted graves cut across the ruins of the S.W. walls of the Gig-par-ku as remodelled by Kurigalzu. These burial vaults contained each a copper coffin, round at the head end, square at the foot, which may very well originally have been intended for, or served as, a bath. In fact, a copper object exactly of this shape was found many years ago in Building L<sup>4</sup> at Zinjirli, in an establishment which seems to have been a bath

<sup>1</sup> Barnett & Watson, *Iraq* XIV, pt. 2, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Height 19 cms. Diam. 28.5 cms. See *Ancient Art in American Private Collections* 1954 (Fogg Art Museum) Cambridge, Mass., pt. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Basitan-i-Shenas* (Teheran) 1951, pl. opp. p. 67; cf. pl. opp. p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> von Luschan and Andrae *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V.*, pl. 57.

house and can hardly be later than the seventh century B.C. Each of the two copper coffins found at Ur "contained the body of a woman, wrapped in linen or woollen cloths, adorned with beads of agate, gold earrings, glazed vases, and in one case, a bronze mirror and a finely gadrooned bowl, also a basket and wooden vessels in very bad condition".<sup>1</sup> At that time Woolley dated these two burials to the period 700–650 B.C.; in his still unpublished final account, part of which he has most kindly allowed me to quote,<sup>2</sup> he changes his view and states that they are of the Persian period. But the evidence he offers for this dating is not very decisive; the evidence of the objects from the coffins, to me would suggest rather the neo-Babylonian period.<sup>3</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Woolley, *A.J.* VI., 379.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from Sir Leonard Woolley's Publications of the Excavations at Ur, *Vol. IX: Neo-Babylonian and Persian Graves and their Contents*.

"The graves were dug from floors not all by any means from the same horizontal plane to depths which varied with the whim of the grave-diggers. . . . The Kassite period merged almost insensibly into the Neo-Babylonian, and there is no obvious reason why the latter should have been distinguished by any innovation. . . . This *a priori* likelihood is borne out by the facts.

"Type 6 consists of oval larnax burials. The coffin is of clay with straight sides and rounded ends, the bottom flat. . . . We found two such coffins made of copper (P. 1 and P. 2) . . .

"Note: The Persian copper coffins of graves P.1 and P.2 were actually inside rough brick vaults.

"The Kassite houses . . . were razed and above their ruins new buildings on entirely different lines were erected. They are dated by the tablets found with them to the reigns of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar. The houses were re-used and in part re-modelled in Persian times, when the levels of their floors also were raised, and the tablets found in these higher rooms take us down through the Persian age to the twelfth year of Alexander the Great. It is obvious that all graves which are concealed beneath the pavements of the earlier houses and are related to them must be of the late Neo-Babylonian time. All graves which lie above or are cut through those pavements must belong to Persian houses. . . . There were 27 burials in the square-ended coffins which can safely be assigned to the Persian period and there were 15 inhumation or pot burials whose relation to walls and floors made it seem certain that they too were Persian. Thirty graves lay so far below the Neo-Babylonian floors that in the field notes they were confidently labelled Neo-Babylonian.

"All that can be said is that already by the beginning of the Neo-Babylonian period glazed clay vessels are fairly common in the Ur graves and in the Persian period they are very numerous.

"One thing which distinguishes the Persian from the Neo-Babylonian graves is the common occurrence in the former of the bow fibula".

<sup>3</sup> The catalogue of contents is:—

P.1. (C.G.1) glazed pot, type 99 (Fig. 3): beads, U.6676 (Pl. XVII); gold ear-ring, U.6677 (Pl. XVII): two fibulae (U.6679), bone comb,

V.2. (C.G.2) glazed pot, U.6667 (Fig. 4): beads, U.6678 (Pl. XVII); gold ear-rings U.6680–1 (Pl. XVII); mirror U.6668; 2 bow fibulae U.6683 (Pl. XVII); bangle;

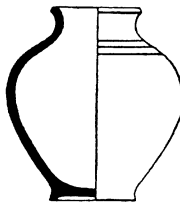


Fig. 3.

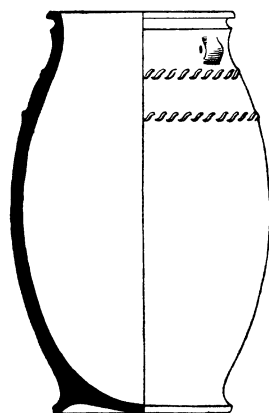


Fig. 4.

copper bowl, gadrooned, U.6666; wooden bowl U.6665 and box and basket (the wooden bowl was oval (0.065m × 0.045m) with two lug handles, but was too perished for even a drawing; the box and basket were represented by only three fragments.

It must be noted that Sir Leonard Woolley in a letter to me (15.xi.53) doubts the attribution of these coffins to a pre-Achaemenid period: "As regards date: *every* coffin with one flat and one rounded end that could be dated by external evidence—*i.e.*, by relation to dated buildings—belonged to the Persian period. (The type runs on till the fourth century B.C. as is shown by our having seal-impressions and casts of Attic coins (see Legrain, *Ur Ex.* Vol. X).) Each of the copper coffins contained two fibulae. We found fibulae very commonly in Persian graves (*i.e.*, coffins of this shape) but only two examples in coffins attributed to the late Babylonian period. You must disregard my first impressions of date which were due to the coffin-shaft being dug down into Kassite remains—so I put them to the next period: this must be revised in the light of later evidence, and the position of the coffins only means that the grave being an important one was set rather deeper down than usual.

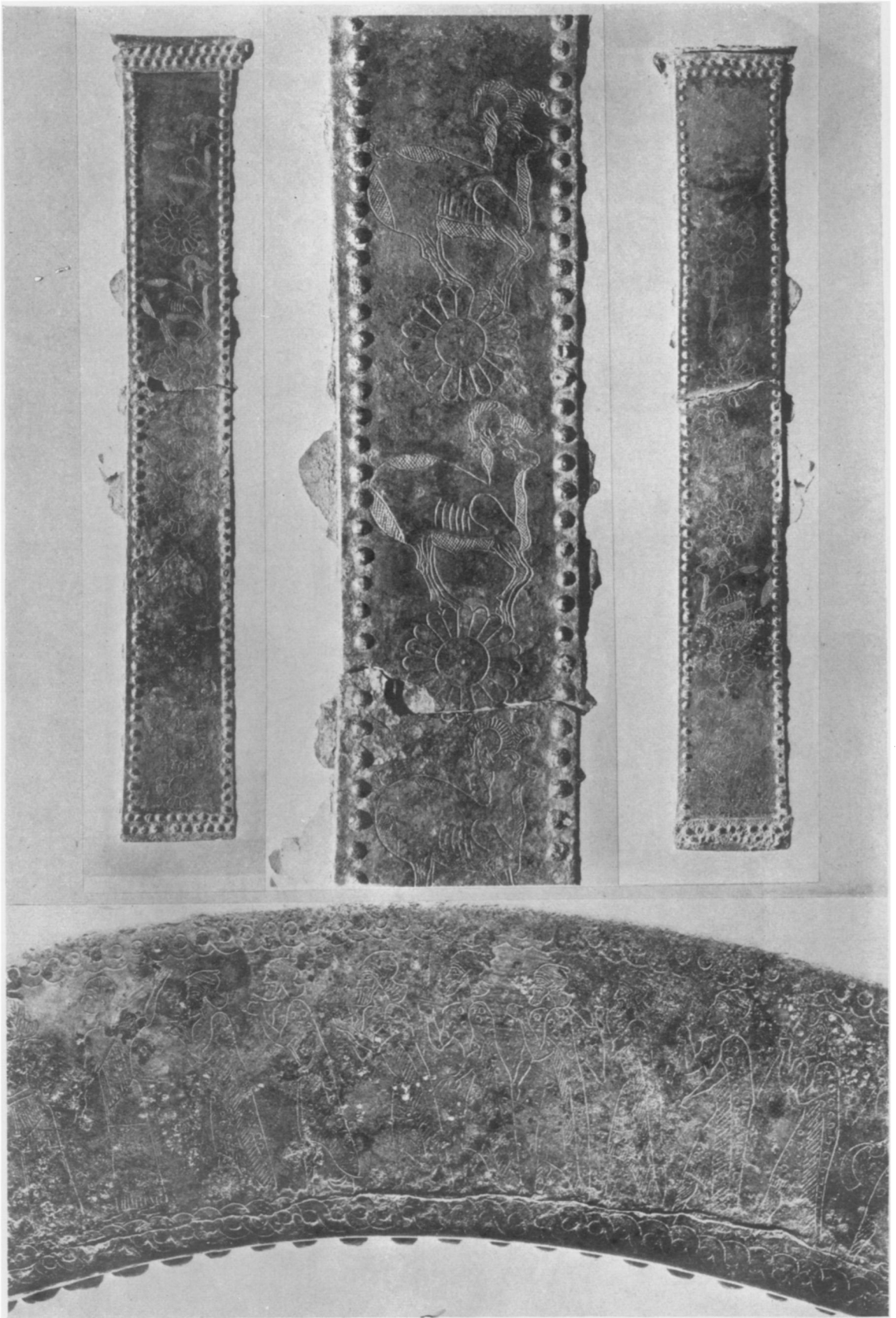
"This is as much as I can say, but it would seem to me rash to give the two coffins an earlier date than Persian. The typological evidence for Ur is very strong and would scarcely be affected by different evidence on other sites".

particular, there is a pair of earrings (U6680-1) to which the nearest parallel is a pair from Tomb 69 at Neirab near Aleppo,<sup>1</sup> belonging to the neo-Babylonian period. Similar clay coffins were found at Merkez (Babylon), but were not clearly dated.<sup>2</sup> These two copper coffins, then, were brought home to England; one was allotted to the British Museum and one was recently transferred to the City Museum at Birmingham where it was cleaned. It was there discovered that the strips at the sides bore engraved figures of mountain goats standing on rosettes (Pl. XVI). Meanwhile, the British Museum in cleaning its example, also found the same design on the same position (Pl. XVII). Then our colleague at Birmingham, Mr. Adrian Oswald, pointed out that this was exactly the design which appeared on the broken copper bath in which the Ziwiye treasure was found to have been hidden away in antiquity. A drawing of a vertical strip from Ziwiye exactly similar to the Birmingham and London pieces with figures of goats appears in M. Godard's book (fig. 9) but most of the original pieces of this bath are now in New York. I am able to reproduce photographs through the courtesy of Mr. Wilkinson (Pl. XV). From this, the close connection of the Ziwiye bath with the British Museum and Birmingham coffins from Ur is obvious, and it appears likely, failing further evidence, that the Ziwiye Treasure was buried in a bath or coffin perhaps somewhere around 600 B.C. The rim of this bath bore figures (Godard, fig. 4; in full here Pl. XV), to be recognised not as warriors in funeral procession, as M. Godard suggests, but as natives brought as prisoners before an Assyrian official. Mr. Mallowan has suggested very plausibly that they are Medians.

M. Ghirshman in his latest publication, *L'Iran, des origines à l'Islam*, published in 1951, voices the opinion that the city of Sakkez near Ziwiye was the capital of the Scythians or Ishkuza, and in fact bore their name (Sakkez); further that the treasure of Ziwiye with its Scythian elements mixed with Assyrian subjects may have been part of the dowry which came from Esarhaddon to Bartatua, the king of the Scythians, when the latter married Esarhaddon's daughter. Such an attractive theory is hard to resist. But I find the first objection to it in the fact that the principal pieces which seem closest to Assyrian art, are in fact not certainly royal Assyrian gifts but rather suggest the possessions of an Assyrian governor; as to the belief that these objects were finally hidden away in about 625 B.C., the date, according to some, when the Scythian empire collapsed, there is only this to be said: it is very near the truth, only it may not be quite late enough, and it is possible that these coffins were made towards the end of the seventh century and a date about 600 B.C. is to be preferred for the burial of the Treasure. What threatening event caused the treasure to be hidden we shall probably never know.

<sup>1</sup> *Syria* IV, 194 to 201.

<sup>2</sup> Reuther, *Merkez*, pls. 62-72.

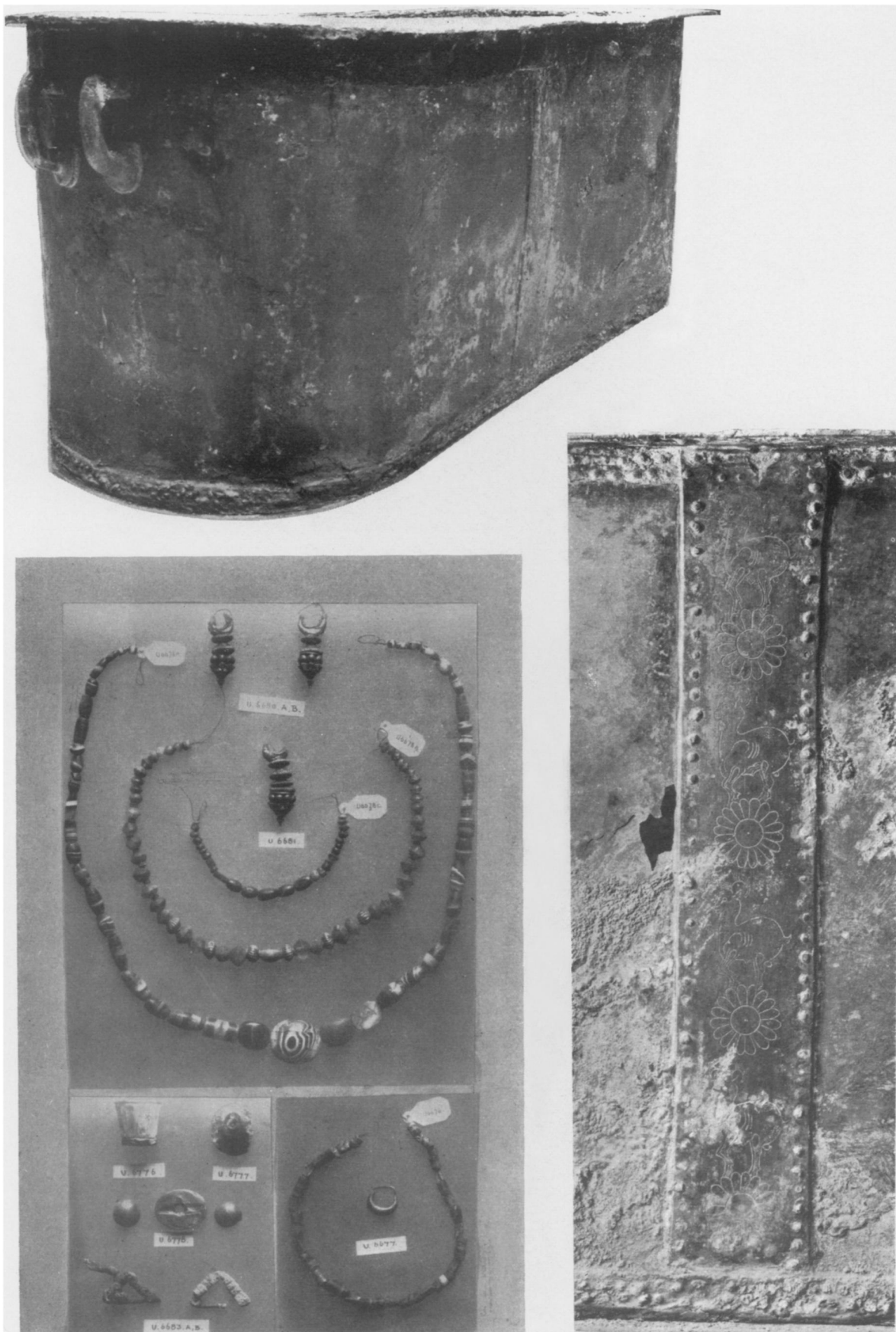


The Ziwiye coffin (New York). Above : strips from side. The central strip is an enlargement of that on left.



The Birmingham bronze coffin : with details of strips from side.





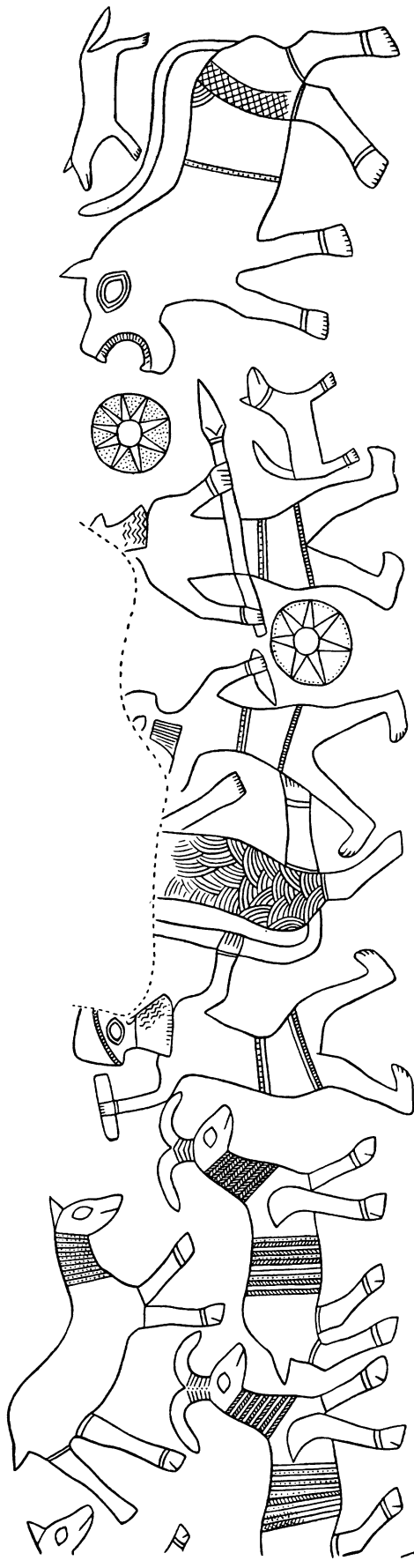
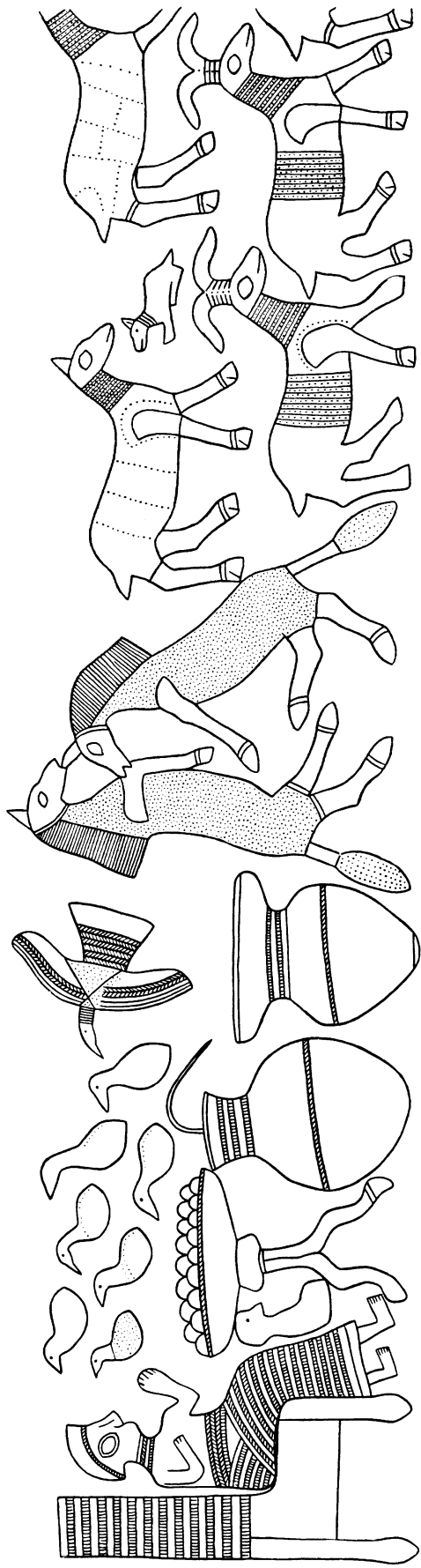
The London bronze coffin with (right) detail of strip on side.  
Jewellery and ornaments from Ur.



Bronze dish from N.W. Persia. (See p. 114.)  
Above : feasting figure and birds.      Below : horses fighting ; cattle.



Bronze dish from N.W. Persia (see page 114). Lion Hunt.



Drawing on bronze dish from N.W. Persia (see p. 114).



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Persepolis

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## PERSEPOLIS

By R. D. BARNETT

*The Excavators and Their Predecessors*

THE great site of Persepolis, though known for centuries past from the accounts of many travellers<sup>1</sup>, remained until 1931 one of the very few of the great capital cities of the ancient Near Eastern world still untouched. Yet its monuments have formed the objects of serious study since more than a century; Ker Porter's careful drawings (1817)<sup>2</sup> are by no means to be despised, but the pioneer work of Flandin and Coste<sup>3</sup>, carried out in 1840-1841, before Botta and Layard had even found the famous capitals of Assyria, was not merely remarkable, it was in the first class. Following it came that of Texier<sup>4</sup> in 1852. But only Flandin and Coste's great work can be compared with the latest handsome presentation of the subject, which is based on every modern scientific aid and incorporates the results of large-scale excavations, with the end in view of producing a definitive and complete record.<sup>5</sup>

The reasons why Persepolis, after first being made known to the world by Frenchmen in such fitting splendour, should then have been so long and widely neglected lie in French hands. As a result of the energy and success of J. de Morgan at Susa, the Persians were persuaded to pass an archaeological law, giving the French the exclusive concession to excavate in Persia. Since the French were effectively engaged elsewhere in Persia, this caused Persepolis to be spared, and it was not till 1928 that the French monopoly under a new Antiquities Law was revoked by mutual consent and permission was given to the University of Chicago to excavate at Persepolis.<sup>6</sup> The passage of over twenty years since then has brought the first reward in the form of the present sumptuous volume. For it, in general, we cannot be sufficiently grateful, particularly for the learning, skill and labour which have gone to create it. If, therefore, in praising it we also criticise, it is to judge it by the strictest of standards, and not to undervalue the immense advance in our knowledge of Persian art, history and architecture which it has contributed.

<sup>1</sup> For a list of these visitors and their accounts, see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, Vol. 2, 1892, 157.

<sup>2</sup> Sir R. Ker Porter. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*. 2 vols. London, 1821.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage en Perse*. 4 vols. 1843-54.

<sup>4</sup> *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* (1852).

<sup>5</sup> Erich Schmidt. *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs,*

*Inscriptions*. (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, 68) Chicago 1953. University of Chicago Press, folio 297 pp., 123 figs., 205 pls. (2). In this review article, I have had the benefit of advice and discussion with Dr. R. Ghirshman and my colleagues, R. Higgins, W. Watson and J. N. Coldstream.

<sup>6</sup> In Schmidt's report, *O.I.C.*, 21 (1939), the funds are said to have been first provided by a private benefactress.



Schmidt's work begins with a Preface,<sup>1</sup> (I) "Summary Log of the Excavations", and (II) a useful account of other Persian buildings, entitled "The Royal Architects", in which Schmidt, on the basis of the excavation and completer state of preservation of the Persepolitan Apadana, is able to correct that proposed by the French excavators for the apadana at Susa. There are also valuable additions to our knowledge of the site of Pasargadae. (III) deals with sites in the Persepolis area and with (IV) we begin the account of the monuments on the terrace of Persepolis itself. In this way we are rather abruptly introduced into the account of the American expedition without any survey, appreciation or discussion of the work of previous scholars at this site, save for passing references in footnotes. This is unjust and unreasonable, for that work, although only surface work, was of very considerable value. Some of those earlier studies, particularly Flandin and Coste's beautifully drawn and engraved plans and drawings, are an invaluable record of the site with its sculptures as it was then. Those huge and cumbrous folios being now, and having always been, both rare and costly, few readers of *Persepolis I* can consult them for comparison for themselves, and some account of them and their contents was surely deserved.

To Flandin and Coste were known the Porch (now called the Gate) of Xerxes, the Hall of Xerxes (now known as the Apadana), the Palace of Darius, the Palace of Artaxerxes (now called more discreetly Palace H), the Palace of Xerxes, the Hall of 100 Columns (now re-named the Throne Hall), the former "South East Edifice", now recognised as the service quarters of the Harem, and the former Central Edifice (called the "Tripylon" by Herzfeld), now known as the Council Hall. The next stage at Persepolis began in 1877, when Farhad Mirza, the Mukhtamad or Iktisham-ed-Dowleh, Governor-general of Fars, annoyed, it is said, by the number of visiting Franks to whom he was required to afford protection and hospitality, resolved to examine Persepolis and its contents for himself, and set about it with six hundred men at his own expense. Schmidt makes passing references to Farhad's archaeological activities.<sup>2</sup> Whether they produced any finds is unknown. But they provided a fortunate occasion for engaging the attention of a German photographer, Stolze, who happened to be working in the region on an epigraphical expedition. The result was the first photographic record of Persepolis.<sup>3</sup> This, like Flandin and Coste, is also today a rarity.

<sup>1</sup> There is no prefatory mention of the plan of the publication, though from a footnote (22) on p. 73 we gather that vol. II will contain a chapter on "Sculpture and Applied Decoration". We are further told (p. 82) that Herzfeld had planned a comprehensive treatment of the tribute procession which was in preparation at the time of his death. It is regrettable that it has not been possible to publish this material,

as Herzfeld's papers were left, I understand, to the Frere Gallery, New York. But when shown to us, this material appeared to require prolonged editorial work before it could be published.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, pp. 4, 42, 131-2.

<sup>3</sup> Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis*, 2 vols. Berlin 1882.

Many of Stolze's photographs are very poor indeed. The negatives of others which are better, were alas, cracked and broken by (he says) the British Customs authorities, who unpacked them on their way home. But Stolze rightly published them all the same. To these precious early photographic records are to be added the far superior pictures of Marcel Dieulafoy.<sup>1</sup> The particular value of these publications is comparative, as they show most clearly both the steady progress of destruction of the sculptures by pillaging or natural forces of frost and rain, and how in many cases they are to be restored. Of this we receive not the slightest hint from the work under review. Thus, Ker Porter shows that along the entire width of the North front of the Apadana the upper halves of the top row of tributaries had already been removed, leaving it as it is to-day. They may have all gone in 1811.<sup>2</sup> In the Apadana, where many of the sculptured heads of tributaries on the Northern Stairway have been defaced, we find by comparison with Flandin and Coste that in general the damage is previous to 1840—probably long before, but that the so-called "Sogdians" have been defaced since then.<sup>3</sup> The same is apparently also true of the Indians.<sup>4</sup> But on Palace H, the entire left-hand panel of five figures carrying ivory tusks and two carrying pots, already badly damaged in Stolze's time<sup>5</sup>, with the loss of most of the tusk carriers, has since been almost totally destroyed or removed; the inscription to the right of the same group which was still extant in 1878 has also suffered<sup>6</sup>. Again, the Enthronement Scene in the West Doorway of the South Wall of the Throne Hall has now lost two-thirds of the West Jamb block showing the baldachin and winged disc.<sup>7</sup> The Audience Relief from the Throne Hall, North Wall, East Door, West Jamb had its baldachin block complete in 1840<sup>8</sup>; by 1910 the baldachin was heavily cut off at each edge; by the 1930's it had disappeared<sup>9</sup>. The Enthronement-relief on the West Jamb of the East Doorway in the South Wall of the Throne Hall had by 1878 lost the complete block containing Ahuramazda and the baldachin extant in 1840.<sup>10</sup> All this information is important and relevant and might well have been included, and there is no doubt that diligent study would find more such points. Similarly, there is no mention nor use made of the work of the British Museum expedition to make casts sent out in 1891, photographs being published in 1932.<sup>11</sup> The reproductions in that work, as in others we

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in heliogravure in his *L'Art Antique de la Perse* (1881-85).

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, pl. 53; see also below p. 60 and Ker Porter I, 601.

<sup>3</sup> Flandin and Coste II, pl. 108; cf. Schmidt, pl. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Schmidt, pl. 44, cf. Flandin and Coste II, pl. 109.

<sup>5</sup> Flandin and Coste III, pl. 130; cf. Stolze, pl. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Schmidt, pl. 202c; cf. Stolze, pl. 65.

<sup>7</sup> cf. Schmidt, pl. 103, with Stolze pl. 59.

<sup>8</sup> Flandin and Coste III, pls. 151 and 154.

<sup>9</sup> Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, fig. 65; cf. Schmidt, pl. 97b.

<sup>10</sup> Flandin and Coste III, pl. 156, cf. Schmidt, pl. 106; pl. 156; cf. Schmidt, pl. 106; Stolze, pl. 60. A fragment is now in Seattle—see below, p. 64.

<sup>11</sup> *Photographs of Casts of Persian sculptures of the Achaemenid period mostly from Persepolis*: 12 pl. British Museum, 1932.



have quoted, show many details of the sculptured figures far more clearly than the present publication. In any event, we might well expect in the recent sumptuous publication both the inclusion of illustrations of pieces now lost or destroyed and the best and most informative illustrations of those still surviving. Unfortunately, even this is not always the case. Thus in Schmidt pls. 44a (The tribute procession: Indians) the photographs show too much shadow, obliterating details of the faces (compare B.M. Casts 5); and B.M. Casts 6 give an infinitely better picture of the central sculptured panel of the Stairway of Artaxerxes III than is found in Schmidt pl. 153. So too, with the important details of the tributaries illustrated on Schmidt pl. 110 (Throne-Bearers): on Schmidt's plate the lowest row of figures are blocked out by an obstructing stone. In Casts 2 they are all to be seen in full.<sup>1</sup>

The next important visitor to Persepolis after Stolze was George Nathaniel Curzon, later Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India and the founder of the Indian Archaeological Service. His book, *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892), contains not only an admirable description and discussion of Persepolis, but also an analysis of Achaemenid court art which it is still worth while to ponder, even if we shall show cause to disagree with some of it (see p. 76). I quote his remarks on the decoration of the staircases: "It is when we come to the sculptures of the staircases with their long processional panels, their inscriptions and their figures that ascend the steps with the ascending visitor, that we see the Persian architect at his most original and his best. For staircases, and their capacities of sculptural display, the Egyptians cared little, and the Greeks hardly at all. They had other iconostases for their delineation of the pageantry, either of religious ceremonial or royal magnificence. It was the distinction of the Persian artist to have invented and brought to its highest perfection a method which served the triple purpose of economising space, of adding to the elevation and consequent grandeur of the buildings, and of realising the sole aim and object of his employment, viz., the glorification of royalty." Curzon's journeys were made in 1889-90 and in his train came Mr. Herbert Weld-Blundell with his cast-moulding expedition, who cleared away the superincumbent soil in certain places and replaced fallen slabs. Of this again, as we have said, there is no explicit mention in Schmidt.

As we have stated above, the real obstruction to serious excavation at Persepolis had hitherto been the unusual monopoly of excavation in Persia secured for France by de Morgan in 1897. In 1928 this monopoly was abrogated in a new antiquities law and the Chicago Oriental Institute received the concession for Persepolis.

<sup>1</sup> Most of the photographs, in fact, compare unfavourably in standard with the excellent short series in Herzfeld's *Iran in the Ancient East*, pls. XLVI- (20705)

LXXI, being often a trifle indistinct, occasionally obviously touched up (pls. 66, 161B) or even out of focus (pls. 77, 103, 106).

For the first four seasons (1931-34) the work of excavation was placed by the Oriental Institute under the direction of the late Ernst Herzfeld, whose brilliance as a student of ancient Persia none disputes; but whose complete suitability as an excavator is not fully evident. This book raises doubts indeed, since he appears to have kept no notes of his work as an excavator whatever, or, if he did, he kept them to himself. Time and again the present author, Schmidt, is held up by lack of information which should have been preserved and made available. The results of Herzfeld's four seasons were not negligible. He found in 1931 the main wing of the Harem of Xerxes. In 1932 he cleared most of the gate of Xerxes, determined the outline of a new Palace (Palace G) and found the sculptured southern and eastern Stairway of the Council Hall, and the great sculptures of the Eastern Front of the Apadana, continued work on the Harem of Xerxes, and removed debris from the Terrace foundations. In 1933 he cleared the courtyard between the Apadana and the Throne-Hall and in the north-eastern Terrace fortifications unearthed thousands of Elamite cuneiform tablets. In 1934 he was active at several parts of the site. In the Apadana he also found the gold and silver foundation tablets of Xerxes and Darius. He then resigned.

The expedition was placed under Schmidt, who was then conducting the excavation at Rayy, 400 miles away, but was enabled to combine his responsibilities and keep in touch by means of an aircraft provided by his wife, referred to without comment as Mary-Helen. In 1935-39 he cleared part of the eastern fortification, discovered and cleared the enormous Treasury, and cleared a cistern. In 1936 he discovered in the Treasury hundreds of Elamite tablets,<sup>1</sup> worked at Naqsh-e-Rostam (1936-39) and removed Farhad Mirza's dump in the Throne Hall. In 1939 he finished the southern portion of the Apadana, and found an Achaemenid cemetery. The final clearances of the Persepolis terrace were made by the Iranian Antiquities Service after the War. As a result of these strenuous undertakings, the terrace of Persepolis palaces or "Throne of Jamshid", to use its popular name, is now completely cleared. For this the Oriental Institute and, among its excavators, Schmidt, deserve the greatest share of praise.

### *Disjecta Membra*

It is impossible here to appraise each of the chapters of this book at length. The introductory survey, however, (entitled "Royal Architects of Persia") is excellent and establishes that Persepolis was founded at least by 504 B.C. by Darius, who also began the Apadana (completed by Xerxes after 30 years), built the Palace which bears his name and constructed the Treasury in its first form. Xerxes appears to have been his deputy and supervisor of public works, to have continued his plans and to have built on his own account

<sup>1</sup> G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (1948).

the Harem, the Throne Hall (which the excavators take to be the palace Museum) completed by Artaxerxes, and the Terrace Gate. Palaces D and G were anciently destroyed. Palace H (formerly called that of Artaxerxes III) made of re-used stuff from the Palace of Darius, was probably built by a Hellenistic or Parthian governor. Herzfeld's discovery of the W. façade of the Apadana, with its almost undamaged series of sculptures, duplicating and completing those already known from the East side, was an event of the greatest importance. It is a curious feature of the sculptures of Persepolis, unencountered elsewhere, that every relief has to have a counterpart showing the opposite sides of the same figures. Was it from a sort of frenzy of realism? Was it because in the world of Zoroastrian dualism, it was, perhaps, felt that the unseen sides, being in a sort of darkness, were a prey to evil? The excavator is able to show these twin views on the same plate in many cases, one above the other, completing in the one series details obliterated on its fellow. These valuable juxtapositions make it possible to restore the series of 23 delegations which are shown bringing gifts, probably at the New Year festival, from the different peoples of the empires. Among them move lines of guards, dignitaries and attendants. From this ample publication of new material, and in particular these juxtapositions, we are now for the first time able to identify the source of some of the more notable dispersed sculptures from Persepolis which have found their way to Western museums. It is strange that the excavators have not attempted this relatively simple task. Thus the British Museum has several pieces, mostly from the collection of Sir Gore Ouseley, British Ambassador at Teheran, 1810 to 1815, and from that of Lord Aberdeen. They are described in the *Travels undertaken in 1811* of Sir William Ouseley, Sir Gore's brother and secretary (1821) Vol. 2, 254, where Sir William speaks of two of the reliefs as in his own collection (pl. xlv and xlvi). One is inclined to infer that he may have got them from Mr. Morier (immortal author of *Hajji Baba of Ispahan*), whom he met at the site and who mentioned that "some workmen employed by him in digging had brought to light several beautiful sculptures, concealed probably during many centuries" (p. 188). Sir William also illustrates on pl. xlvi those brought to England by his brother, and on pl. xlv those acquired by Lord Aberdeen from Persepolis through the latter's brother, Mr. Gordon. By combining reduced photos with reproductions of parts of the Apadana reliefs, I have been able to show the probable original positions of several of these pieces (pls. XVII, XVIII).

*From the Apadana*

1. 118839. Slab with two Medians moving right, holding whips, etc. 32 × 75 cm. Presented by Lord Aberdeen. Ouseley II pl. xlvi, who shows it as in his brother's collection. This is the upper part of the two figures out of three between wand-bearing Median ushers, top row left. Apadana North Stairway, E. Wing, cf. Schmidt I pl. 58, cf. pl. 51. Plates XV, 1; XVIII, 2.

(20705)

2. 118847. Slab  $12 \times 30$  cm., showing royal stool carried by Median; this belonged to the extreme left figure but one on top row, E. wing of Northern Stairway of Apadana. Schmidt I pl. 58; *cf.* pls. 51, 52. Plate XVIII, 2.  
Barnett, *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, Pl. IV. Presented by the Royal Institution, 1870.
3. 118838. Slab  $60 \times 102$  cm., showing file of Susian guards moving to r. holding lances. This is evidently from left end of East Wing of the Apadana *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 58, and should displace the left-hand fragment incorrectly replaced there by the Americans. Ouseley II, pl. xlvi, who erroneously shows it joining (2) above. Said to have been presented by Lord Aberdeen (though Sir William Ouseley describes it as belonging to his brother.) Plates XV, 2; XVII, 2.
4. 118856. Fragment showing head of a Susian guard.  $18 \times 17$  cm. Ouseley II, pl. xlvi. Plate XIX, 4.
5. 118848. Slab  $50 \times 25$  cm., showing Susian usher advancing left but facing right. Probably the introducing figure at left of three free horses, East Wing of Apadana Northern Stairway, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 57, *cf.* pl. 52. Plate XVI, 2.
6. 118842. Slab  $45 \times 25$  cm., showing Median and horse, evidently one of three figures leading a horse in top row, East Wing of Apadana Northern Stairway; *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 57, *cf.* pl. 52. Ouseley II, pl. xlv. Plates XVI, 4; XVII, 1.
7. 118843. Slab  $55 \times 77$  cm., showing chariot scene. Evidently part of the rearmost chariot on East Wing, North Stairway of Apadana, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 57, *cf.* pl. 52. Plates XV, 3; XVIII, 1.
8. 118851. Fragment of slab  $29 \times 18$  cm., showing reins and withers of chariot horse moving right, probably adjoining to last. Presented by the Earl of Aberdeen.
9. 118869. Slab showing man leading camel to left, of which only nose survives.  $44 \times 60$  cm. Evidently from the 13th Delegation, Apadana North Stairway, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 39; published in Pope, *Survey of Persian Art* IV, pl. 96 D. Plate XVI, 5.
10. 118866. Slab  $32 \times 35$  cm., showing Persian bowman holding lance with both hands, facing l. Probably from inner or outer flight of the Apadana Northern Stairway, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 55.6. Plate XIX, 1.
11. 92253. Fragment of head of Persian moving l.  $13 \times 12$  cm. Perhaps from South face of inner or outer flight of the Apadana Northern Stairway, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 56.
12. 118865. Slab showing three figures of Persian soldiers holding "Boeotian" shields and lances, facing right, from a balustrade ornamented with tongue patterns; probably from the parapet of the Apadana Eastern Stairway, Schmidt I, pls. 25, 26. Plate XX, 1.
13. 118837. Part of slab,  $90 \times 60$  cm., showing life-size figure of Persian guard moving right, holding shield and lance. Ouseley, II, pl. xlvi. Plate XX, 3.
14. 118858. Part of slab showing Persian facing left, holding spear. Sir William Ouseley's collection, Ouseley II, pl. xlv. Plate XIX, 5.
15. 118857. Part of slab showing Median usher leading bearded man upstairs to left: to left of him, edge of a tree,  $27 \times 35$  cm. Probably the introducing figure leading Skudrians, Northern Stairway of Apadana, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 45. Ouseley II, pl. xlv. Plate XVI, 1.

16. 118840, 118841. Two parts of an inscription in Persian cuneiform; at right, part of cypress tree.  $35 \times 10$  cm. Ouseley, II, pl. xlv. First four lines of trilingual text of Xerxes—Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 108, Xerx. Pers. 6. The remainder of the text is seen on Schmidt I, p. 82, pl. 60. Plate XIX, 3 (118841).

*From the Palace of Darius*

17. 118868. Figure of Median servant ascending stairs to right, carrying covered vase. Probably from the western flight of the Southern Stairway, Palace of Darius, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 132, or Palace of Xerxes, Western Stairway—2b, pl. 165. (For others, see Pope, *Survey of Persian Art* IV, pl. 96 B, 97, 8.)  $72 \times 35$  cm. Plate XXI, 1.  
*cf.* Switzerland (Zurich) below.
18. 118855. Fragment showing part of figure of Median ascending stairs to left, carrying covered dish.  
Probably from the Eastern flight of Southern Stairway, Palace of Darius; *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 135.  $30 \times 30$  cm. Plate XIX, 2.  
Ouseley, II, pl. xlvi: From Sir Gore Ouseley's collection.

*From Palace H?*

19. 118845. Fragment of corner of balustrade showing Persian bowman holding lance with both hands,<sup>1</sup> facing left, under raking cornice with band of rosettes.  $39 \times 55$  cm. Presented by the Earl of Aberdeen. Plate XX, 4.  
Probably from Palace H, right side of stairs, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 200.
20. 118864. Fragment with figure in relief, Persian dignitary holding wand with folded hands. From a corner block. *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 25.  $60 \times 23$  cm. Plate XXI, 3  
This gesture is highly peculiar and occurs in a number of reliefs at Persepolis, e.g., pl. 25: B (ushers), pl. 72 D (ushers), pl. 87 (princes?), pl. 121 (eunuch and one of two princes), pl. 123 (do.). It is known in Assyrian art.<sup>2</sup>  
Bernard von Bothmer drew my attention to this gesture and pointed out that it occurs in Egyptian statues of the Persian period (xxviii<sup>th</sup> Dynasty)<sup>3</sup>. Steindorff, *Cat. of the Walters Art Gallery*, shows two Egyptians; one a statuette, the other in a relief, wearing Persian dress and using this gesture. What does it mean? Is it a gesture reserved for high officials, or is it simply a conventional way of depicting the hands?
21. 118844. Corner fragment with two figures, one each on adjacent sides. (a) Persian bowmen holding lance, facing l. (b) Persian dignitary facing right, with crossed hands.  $55 \times 30$  cm. Plate XX, 2.  
Probably from the newel of a staircase.
22. 129381. Fragment showing seated bearded male sphinx wearing divine head-dress with raised paw facing right, between horizontal bands of rosettes. Behind, a lotus-tree.  $75 \times 67$  cm. Plate XXI, 4.  
*B.M.Q.*, Vol. XX, Von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser*, pl. 56.

<sup>1</sup> Does this mean the spear is really to be imagined as carried obliquely? The apple at its base is never placed on the ground, but appears to rest on the left foot. You cannot walk with a spear held in both hands resting on your foot. The solution is that the guards are not to be thought of as walking at all, but

standing at ease, with feet apart. The appearance of walking is deceptive.

<sup>2</sup> On a sculpture of Sennacherib in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> J. D. Cooney, "Portrait of a Collaborator", in *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin*, 1954, first noticed it.

Such figures flank the winged discs at the centre of Stairs at the Apadana. Pl. 22 (East Stairway), Palace of Xerxes, Western Stairway, pls. 159-60, of Council Hall (Schmidt I, pl. 63.)

A similar group doubtless once stood on western flight of Southern Stair of Darius (Schmidt I, pl. 133), on Eastern Stairway of Palace of Xerxes (pl. 166, 168).

A similar unidentified slab, showing the left tip of Ahuramazda's wing, is illustrated in Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xlviii = Tylor, *P.S.B.A.* 1889-1890, pl. iv—Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, Bibel und Homer*, 164 & pl. lxxxviii; it was then in Berlin.

From comparison with the sphinx on the façade of the Southern Stairway of Darius' Palace (Schmidt I, pl. 127) it is clear that the British Museum piece is from the same building, perhaps from somewhere on parapet (see pl. 134F).

In addition, there are fragments of rosettes (118846) of curls from an animal, perhaps from the gateway figures of the gate of Xerxes (118849), a piece of baldachin showing feet of lions moving left, rosettes and network (118850) and small fragments of inscriptions.

#### Scotland

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. 1950, 138. Slab showing upper part of a Susian usher and a Median tributary. 48 × 61 cm. Clearly from the Apadana, North Stairway, East Wing. cf. Schmidt I, pl. 58, 51/2. At the back of the Median may be seen part of the stool carried by him, of which British Museum 118847 is a part.

Plates XVI, 3; XXVIII, 2.

#### France—Louvre

1. Slab with upper edge decorated with leaf pattern: face showing two figures of Persian spearmen wearing feather head-dresses advancing to right. The spear and fingers of a third figure behind the first two can be seen. Ht. 69 × 50 cm.

Contenau—*Monuments Mésopotamiens nouvellement acquis ou peu connus*, Musée du Louvre, 1934, pl. xiv.

*Bulletin des Musées nationaux*. May 1931, p. 93.

2. Slab showing a Median servant ascending stairs to left, carrying a small goat. In the top left corner is a fragment of the cloth covering a dish carried by another servant. Ht. 75 × 38 cm. Contenau, *loc. cit.* pl. xv.

3. Lyons (Palais des Arts).

Head and shoulders of figure of Persian servant carrying cloth-covered tray to right. Ht. 55.8 cm.

Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 96 B.

#### Switzerland—Zurich: Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft

Similar slab showing Median servant ascending steps to right, wearing sword, and holding covered dish. Below, traces of beading and rosettes.

H. Zucker, *Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft, Jahresbericht*, 1955.

From the Palace of Darius, Western Flight of Southern Stairway. Schmidt, pl. 132 B. Plate XXI, 2.

#### W. Germany—Berlin

Slab showing two figures carrying reeded shields and two spears moving left. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persiens*, pl. 29; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, fig. 17. This is clearly the group from the Apadana Northern Stairway, to be restored in Schmidt I, pl. 45A, showing delegation 19 (Skudrians from Thrace?).

## U.S.A.

1. *New York. Stora Collection* (1931).

Slab showing Median usher moving left but turning back to lead two men, one holding two bowls. Cossio-Pijoan, *Summa Artis II—Arte del Asia Occidental*, Bilbao (1931), fig. 669. This is clearly the group at the Apadana Northern Stairway, showing Delegation 13 (Parthians?). Schmidt I, pl. 39. The leading figure, the Median usher, is illustrated alone in Pope, *Survey of Persian Art* (1938), pl. 99.

2. *Cincinnati. Mr. and Mrs. Philip R. Adams Collection.*

Part of a slab showing Median servant ascending stairs to left, holding covered vessel. Ht. 22.8 × 24.2 cm.

*Ancient Art in American Private Collections, Fogg Art Museum* (Catalogue), 1954, No. 63, pl. XIX.

3. *Seattle Art Museum.*

Fragment representing part of baldachin of embroidered cloth figured with winged symbol of Ahuramazda (left wing only surviving) and passant wing (of which one and a half survive). Below are represented network of hanging tassels. Ht. abt. 45 cm. (A similar but smaller fragment is in the British Museum, see above.)

Handbook, Seattle Art Museum, 1951, p. 14.

*Mostra d'arte Iranica, Rome, Palazzo Brancaccio*, 1956, No. 209, pl. XXVII.

4. *Harvard. Dumbarton Oaks.*

Fragment of relief slab showing Persian (?) servant wearing loose dress carrying on his shoulder a large dish covered with cloth, upstairs, moving to left. 50 × 30 cm.

Probably from the Palace of Darius (Southern Stairway, east flight, cf. Schmidt, pl. 133) or of Xerxes (Western Stairway, Schmidt, pl. 164). This piece is very much like the leading figure on slab from Palace G, Schmidt, fig. 119. G. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1981, pl. 1, 1.

5. Two servants; a Median in tight-fitting dress, leading to right a Persian who holds a great tray covered with a cloth.

Probably from the Palace of Darius or Xerxes.

Richter, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, 2. 37 × 67.5 cm.

6. *Boston.*

Slab showing heavily draped Persian servant carrying upstairs to left a round dish with lid.

Probably from the Palace of Darius, Southern Stairway, cf. Schmidt, pl. 135. Ht. 70 cm. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 98.

6. *Cambridge—Fogg Art Museum. G. L. Winthrop Collection.*

7. Figure of Ahuramazda standing in centre of winged disc, holding flower. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 96. Ht. 73 cm.

Probably from above the baldachin of the royal throne in the Throne Hall. Relief on the Western Jamb Western Door, Southern wall of Throne Hall. Schmidt, pl. 103. Ahuramazda elsewhere holds not a flower but a ring. On the opposite slab he holds a flower.

8. Figure of Median servant mounting stairs to left, carrying a kid. Ht. 66 cm. Pope, *op. cit.*, pl. 97.

Probably from the Palace of Darius, Southern Stairway. Cf. Schmidt, pl. 135 E. On both these pieces, see Schroeder, *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Arts*, X 2, 44f. Information by kindness of C. K. Wilkinson and C. Vermeule.

*The Tributary Nations.*

That the foundation of the Apadana was laid by Darius is attested by the gold and silver foundation tablets discovered by Herzfeld; in these Darius describes his empire as extending from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana to Ethiopia, from India to Sardis: from the absence of any reference to his Scythian expedition of *ca.* 513 B.C., it seems building started before that date, perhaps 519–513 B.C., while inscriptions of Xerxes show that it was not completed for about thirty years.

One of the most important contributions of the volume is, as we have said, the complete publication of the great series of twenty-three delegations from the tributary nations of the Persian empire, bringing New Year gifts, as depicted on the stairway reliefs of the great audience hall or Apadana (pls. 27–49).

The correct identification of these nations and their representatives is of great ethnological and historical importance, being in many cases probably the only clue which we possess to their appearance. Schmidt was hampered in this task by the fact that Herzfeld<sup>1</sup> was believed to have prepared, at the time of his death, a detailed discussion of the subject. Though it does not seem to have been available to Schmidt, it appeared possible at that time that it might be published. Schmidt, therefore, though in general following Herzfeld, has not provided any real discussion for his identifications, certain of which are unsatisfactory. To identify these racial types is not easy. We have three lines of approach. The first is the list of nations incorporated in the inscriptions of Darius, and, to a less extent, of Xerxes. The second line is the symbolic figures representative of each nation supporting the throne of Darius, now much battered, carved in the Council Hall at Persepolis (pls. 80–81), where twenty-eight nations are depicted, and the identically similar symbolic supporting figures in the Throne Hall (planned by Xerxes but completed by Artaxerxes I (pls. 108–113, pp. 134ff.)). The third source of information is closely related to the last—namely, the supporting figures upholding the great Divan of the King on the six tombs carved in the rock face at Naqsh-i-Rustam. There we have twenty-nine figures, which correspond exactly to twenty-nine nations enumerated in a general inscription of Xerxes<sup>2</sup> accompanying Darius' tomb. The confirmation and precise identification of these racial types was in 1932 found by A. W. Davis<sup>3</sup>, who discovered the underline inscriptions in three

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 56 note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, 1911, p. 86 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A. W. Davis, *An Achaemenian Tomb Inscription at Persepolis*, in *J.R.A.S.*, April 1932 Davis's list differs only from the Darius inscription (N.R.a) at

Naqsh-i-Rustam by having a space for a (lost) name outside the throne to the left, bringing the total of the nations to thirty. As Davis only copied the Old Persian texts, this may be recoverable in Babylonian or Elamite versions. It may be inferred to have been Karka.



languages attached to each figure in the "South Tomb" (of Artaxerxes II?). These labels had escaped notice of all previous visitors. They were not known to Herzfeld when he made the first detailed and brilliant essay of identification in 1910<sup>1</sup> and were ignored apparently by P. J. Junge, who studied the subject of these racial types before the last war.<sup>2</sup>

Now it is a sad fact that though we have, apart from Herodotus' list<sup>3</sup>, at least three lists of the tributary nations incorporated in inscriptions of Darius, yet these by no means exactly tally with each other, either in sequence or in content. It is clear that in principle the expansion in number from twenty-three nations mentioned by Darius at Behistun to the thirty-two in Xerxes' *daiva* inscription and other changes in detail reflect the growth and changes in the empire during that period. But which of these inscriptions do the Apadana reliefs approximately illustrate, or to which stages in that growth do they correspond? There is certainly no uniform order in these texts in which the nations are recited, except that Persia, Susiana and Media always come first and (as Herzfeld detected) there is usually a certain geographical grouping and a contrast of the central lands with those far off. Before we attempt to answer this, we have first to agree whether the delegations represented in the sculptures are correctly identified in this publication and, if not, how they should be.

As we have said, Herzfeld, many years ago,<sup>4</sup> addressed himself brilliantly to the discussion of the Satrap lists and to the problem of identifying the figures at Naqsh-i-Rustam and in the Throne Hall (Schmidt, pls. 108-113). The present photographs show, not surprisingly, that some of his earlier drawings of these figures were incorrect. It is, however, more disturbing that in Schmidt's volume the important illustrations purporting to show specifically the details of racial and facial types (pls. 112-113) are so inexcusably bad as to be almost illegible, the details being lost in shadow or glare, or by faulty exposure of the camera or even blocked out by the presence of a large stone in the picture. This was certainly below what might have been expected of the standard in a definitive publication of the material (See above, p. 58.)

Another unfortunate obstacle to the study of these types is that we cannot weigh the full material for identifying them until we have in our hands *Persepolis* Vol. III, which promises to publish the Naqsh-i-Rustam reliefs where, as we have said, in the South Tomb all the figures are inscribed.<sup>5</sup> Let

<sup>1</sup> Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910).

<sup>2</sup> As far as I know, P. S. Junge's *Satrapie und Natio* (I) *Klio* 34, 1941/2 is the most recent detailed discussion of the subject and has been used by Schmidt. From the introduction to Junge's '*Dareios I*' (Leipzig, 1944) we learn that Part II was never published, the author being reported missing, presumed dead, at

Stalingrad. His major work, *Die Völker des altpersischen Weltreiches*, to which he makes references in the above article, was likewise never finished. An evil genius seems to dog discussions of this subject.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus III, 90.

<sup>4</sup> In *Iranische Felsreliefs*, pp. 14-56.

<sup>5</sup> This is forecast in a footnote on Schmidt I, 118.

us hope that the photographs of those may be supplemented by drawings of details wherever unclear and that, perhaps, it may prove possible to republish better photographs of the Throne Supporters in the Palace.

Admittedly, then, it may be premature to attempt final decisions on these identifications yet, but some comments may be permitted.

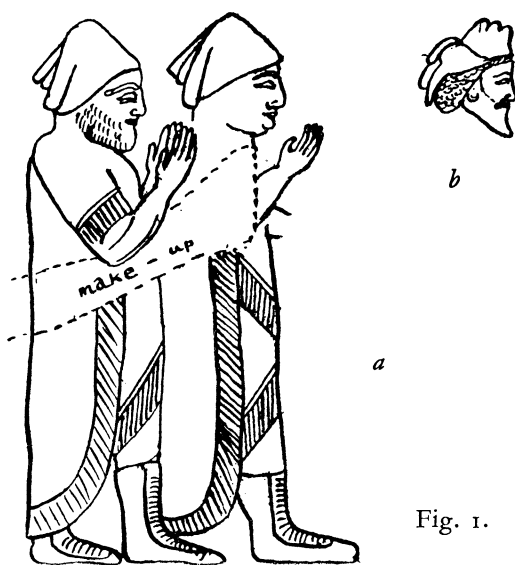


Fig. 1.

a. Urartian ambassadors at the Battle of the Ulai river. From a sculpture of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh.

b. Head of an Armenian tributary at Persepolis.

To take those delegations first which can be regarded as secure on both internal and external evidence and by comparison with the Naqsh-i-Rustam figures, we may cite (1) the Medians, (2) Susians, (3) Armenians, (4) Arians, (5) Babylonians, (7) Arachosians, (9) Cappadocians, (10) Egyptians, (11) Saka tigrakhauda, (12) Ionians, (13) Parthians, (15) Bactrians, (16) Sagartians, (18) Indians, (19) Skudrians, (20) Arabians, (22) Libyans, (23) Ethiopians.

The high-pointed head-dress of the Babylonians with a tassel, called *μίτρα* by Herodotus<sup>1</sup>, is known from Babylonian monuments.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that the Babylonians are carrying as a gift, cloth with a

tasselled network edging, of a type exemplified in the hanging baldachin above the enthronement scenes of Darius, strongly suggesting that the baldachin was a Babylonian weaving. Their gift of an Indian humped ox is as interesting as it is unexpected.

The Armenians and Cappadocians both wear a curious three-crested hat with a double tassel, clearly taken over from that of the Urartians as worn by the Urartian ambassadors in the battle scene sculptured at Nineveh by Ashurbanipal (Fig. 1). We may note that the "Cappadocians" wear the fibula which the Assyrian artists represented as characteristic of Phrygians,<sup>3</sup> and that, therefore, by Katpatuka is indicated Phrygia. Further, that as Herodotus calls the Armenians *ἄποικοι τῶν Φρυγῶν*, he believed they were somewhat alike. I have suggested elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that the last king of Urartu,

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus I, 195, describes the costume of the Babylonians.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Stele of Marduk-apal-idinna, Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Orient*, 120.

<sup>3</sup> See Barnett, "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories", in *J.H.S.*, 1948, 9, fig. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Barnett in "The Archaeology of Urartu", *C.R. du Rencontre Assyriologique internationale*, 1952, 17.

Rusa, son of Erimena, really concealed in his father's name the eponym of the Armenians, who were probably already installed in Urartu by the end of the sixth century. The Medians (1) and the Sagartians (16) wear a variant of this hat, to which a mouth-protector is sometimes added. Of the Sagartians, Herodotus<sup>1</sup> says they are a nomad Persian, horse-rearing tribe, in dress half Persian, half Pactyan; by the latter is probably meant that they wore on occasion, like the Pactyans, cloaks of skin.<sup>2</sup>

The costume of the Parthians (13) is confirmed from later Parthian art; at Naqsh-i-Rustam the Parthian wears Persian court dress. Herodotus VII-71 mentions the leather garments of the Libyans (22), shown here with heavy fringe.

Less certain, but possible, are Gandharians (14) whose representative is shown at Naqsh-i-Rustam dressed like an Indian with bare chest. They carry spears with ball-shaped butts. The Drangianians (21, pl. 47) are also not beyond doubt.

The Indians (18, pl. 44), are shown bare-chested—with short dhoti, led by a man wearing a flowing Indian dress; the next bears on a stick, bowed slightly by the weight, a pair of baskets bearing pots presumed full of gold dust, the tribute of the Indians.<sup>3</sup> They bring an ass, in keeping with Herodotus' statement that the Indians in the Persian army drove in chariots drawn by wild asses<sup>4</sup>. Last comes a man strangely carrying a pair of double-axes.

A little surprising is the inclusion of (19) the Skudrians (pl. 45) from Thrace, as these people are not mentioned in inscriptions before Naqsh-i-Rustam. According to Herodotus<sup>5</sup>, the Thracians wore fox-skin caps, tunic and a cloak of many colours, fawn-skin buskins. They carried javelins, light shields and short daggers. The hemi-spherical shields they carry in this relief appear to be made of wicker work or rope or some such light substance.

The Arabians (20), confirmed as such by their dromedary, wear the *zeira*, or long cloak, as described by Herodotus<sup>6</sup>.

The following identifications, however, call for drastic revision, discarding the identifications of Schmidt and Herzfeld.

The "Syrians" (6) (Schmidt, pl. 32): These people (Pl. XXII, 5) wear a crinkly chiton, a mantle thrown over one shoulder above it, boots, a high curving turban and a long hair-lock falling *behind* each ear. They bring vases and armlets of Persian style and a chariot. This identification was accepted by Herzfeld and Junge<sup>7</sup>. It is automatically rendered doubtful by the fact that Syria did not become an independent satrapy till the time of Xerxes and in these reliefs we are certainly dealing with the empire of Darius. Nor do I

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* VII. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* VII. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, III, 98.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* VII. 86.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* VII. 75.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* VII. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Refs.: Schmidt, p. 85, n. 123.

know of any representations of Syrians with such headgear, though Phoenicians sometimes wear a smaller form and the crinkly chiton and boots may have



Fig. 2.

been familiar enough to them. These are fairly probably the *Sparda*, or Lydians, an important satrapy recorded from the earliest inscriptions but otherwise unaccountably omitted in these reliefs. It is true that the *Sparda* is depicted differently dressed in a short kilt, bareheaded and with puttees at Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fig. 2) but Schmidt himself usefully informs us in a footnote<sup>1</sup> that the *Sparda* wears there an exactly similar braid of hair<sup>2</sup>. There are rare examples of this hair lock falling from behind the ear worn by males in archaic Ionic art—one is the striking ivory from Delphi representing a youth (presumably Apollo) holding a small lion<sup>3</sup>, presumably of the VIIth century

B.C. Another is worn by a charioteer on a relief in Istanbul Museum<sup>4</sup> from Brusa in Ionic style of the end of the VIth century B.C. or early Vth century. Evidently it was a custom followed by Lydians and some Ionians to wear the hair in this way.

The "Cilicians" (8) (Schmidt, pl. 34): Again much doubt on this old identification of Herzfeld<sup>5</sup> is thrown by the fact that Cilicians are not specified in any list of Darius or Xerxes, nor are they depicted on the Divan-supporters at Naqsh-i-Rustam. Who, then, are these people (Pl. XXII, 3) with long coats and girdle, headband with pendant ends, and boots? The clue is given by their tribute. This is a pair of fat-tailed rams, with their tails curling upwards, perhaps tied up with a ribbon. Now this resembles a particular breed of fat-tailed sheep called Karakul (Pl. XXII, 4) which is also famous for producing in the new-born lamb the valuable so-called Astrakhan fur. Two of these lambskins are carried by the leader of the group<sup>6</sup>. This sheep originates in Uzbekistan, the region between the Aral Sea and the slopes of the Tien-Shan Mountains round Samarkand, the areas covering ancient

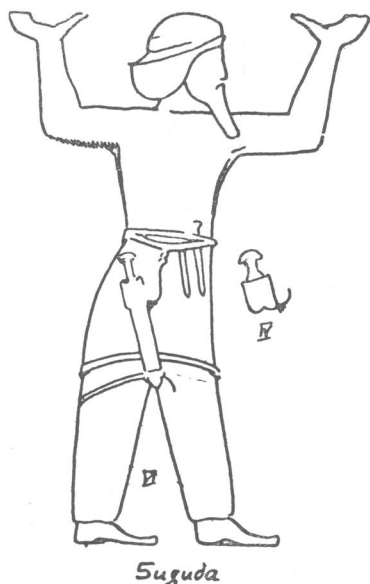


Fig. 3.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* n. 124.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding figure in the Throne Hall (E. 3) seems to be wearing a slightly pointed cap with a twisted head-band.

<sup>3</sup> Amandry, "Sur une statuette de dompteur de

lion", Syria XXIV 1944. In 'Early Greek and Oriental Ivories', JHS. LXVIII, 1948, p. 16., I took this figure for Rhodian as against Amandry, who held it for Ionian. It seems that he may well have been right.

[Continued on next page.]

Chorasmia and Sogdiana. If we compare the illustration of the Sogdian at Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fig. 3), although there he wears only a short coat or undergarment, it is clear that our figures are not Cilicians at all, but Sogdians. The corresponding figures in Council Hall and Throne Hall show their representative wearing an elaborately knotted girdle with a loop and four tails. This at Naqsh-i-Rustam is reduced to two prongs.



Fig. 4.

Sogdian tributary carrying two pelts of Astrakhan fur.

An interesting confirmation of this identification is provided by the relief from the Palace of Darius (Schmidt, pl. 153), where the figure I call Sogdian is suitably represented together with their neighbours the Scythians (*i.e.*, Chorasmians?), Arachosians and Gandharians.

A final other proof marks this delegation as Sogdian. The head on a clay plastic vase found recently in Russian excavations on the Chuy river in Kazakhstan, on the Eastern border of Sogdia (XXIII, 4) wears the same headband with pendant tails. It belongs to the VI–VIIth century A.D. and shows well the tenacity of customs of dress in the ancient East.

The “Sogdians” (17) (Schmidt, pl. 43) is again an old identification of Herzfeld and Junge. Schmidt in a footnote<sup>2</sup> admits a possibility that this delegation (Pl. XXII, 1, 2) may represent the Saka haumavarga rather than the Sogdians, and draws attention to the fact that at Naqsh-i-Rustam the Chorasmian wears Saka (Scythian) costume (Fig. 5). One must assume that Naqsh-i-Rustam’s reasonable information is correct. In any event, there can be no doubt that here a Scythian people are depicted, with forward-pointed cap and ear-flaps and huge bow-cases, carrying small tomahawks, a sword and scabbard. Scythians of this type are depicted on a vase (Fig. 6) of Greek

<sup>1</sup> p. 89, n. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (fig. 94).

*Continued from previous page.*

<sup>4</sup> Mendel, *Catalogue du Musée de Brousse* (1908) 1. pl. 1. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art IV*, pl. 104 B: see Casson, *ibid* Vol. I, p. 330. Casson quite erroneously regards this sculpture as Achaemenid.

<sup>5</sup> Junge accepted this on the assumption that they corresponded to the “Sea-people”, called more explicitly in Darius Persepolis c “Yauna of the Sea”, who Herodotus indicates cover Cilicia and Cyprus.

<sup>6</sup> The Karakul or Bokhara sheep are medium-sized with black face and legs. The rams have large horns curving outwards. The face is narrow, the eye full and bright, nose decidedly Roman, the ears small and pendulous, these last two features being very characteristic of the Karakul.

The tail is the most distinctive characteristic and is very broad next the body, perhaps eight to ten inches

thick, and about the same length, usually ending in a sharp upward curl. (A. A. Macmillan, *Karakul (Fur Bearing) Sheep and Persian Lamb Fur Production—Dominion of Canada, Dept. of Agriculture Publication 654, Sept. 1939*.) They were introduced from Bokhara into Germany in 1903, and into German S.W. Africa in 1909. Robert Lossen, *Karakul Breeding in S.W. Africa* (Windhoek, 1931), first identified this sheep on the Persepolis relief as Karakul. I owe my thanks to Miss Sylvia Schweppe for drawing my attention to this comparison with the Karakul sheep, and to the International Wool Secretariat, London, for putting the former publication at my disposal.

The only point in which the sheep in the relief differs from the Karakul is in the ear, which is horizontal. We can only assume, therefore, that it was not exactly the Karakul, but a breed akin to it.

style found at Kul-Oba near Kertch and an iron axe overlaid with gold of just this kind was found at Kelermes (Kuban)<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XXIII, 1) with an iron

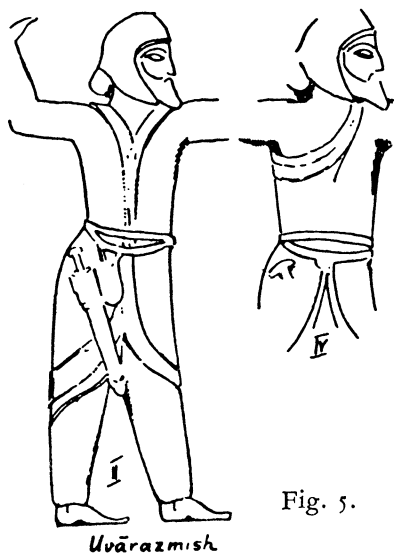


Fig. 5.

sword and scabbard of the type shown in the relief. From the position of these finds, we should expect this delegation to be *Saka paradraya* of South Russia but this tribe is not specified before Naqsh-i-Rustam in spite of Darius' Scythian expedition. The words of Herodotus<sup>2</sup> might suggest that we have here Saka Haumavarga, though he seems to confuse them with the Tigrakauda (known from Naqsh-i-Rustam for their pointed hats). But the distinction in any case between the two types of Scythians does not appear in the Persian inscriptions before that of Naqsh-i-Rustam, and is therefore unlikely here. We may, therefore, conclude that these Scythians on pl. 43 are either Haumavarga from Lake Balkash or Chorasmians from the region of the Aral Sea.

If we compare the list of tributaries thus revised with the inscriptions of Darius, we find it closest to that of Behistun (also with 23 names), with certain



Fig. 6.

small differences: Sea people (*i.e.*, the Cilicians and Cypriots), the Thattaguš of India, Athura (Assyria?) and the Maka of Makran and Oman are omitted, while the following are added: Putiya and Kušiya, which appear in Darius'

<sup>1</sup> Rostovtseff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pl. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus VII, 64: "The Sacae or Scyths were clad in trousers, and had on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point. They bore the bow of their country, and the dagger; besides which they carried

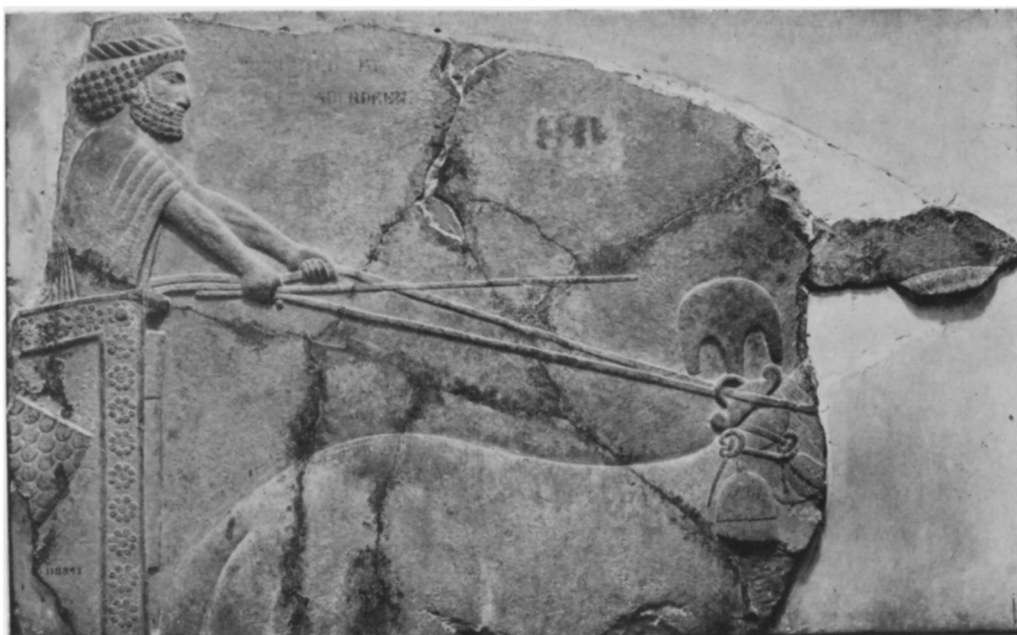
the battle-axe or *sagaris*: they were in truth Amyrgian Scythians, but the Persians called them Sacae, since that is the name which they give to all Scythians". The Amyrgian Scythians are, of course, the Saka Haumavarga.



1. BM. 118839 (See No. 1, p. 60)



2. BM. 118838 (See No. 3, p. 61)



3. BM. 118843 (See No. 7, p. 61).

PLATE XVI



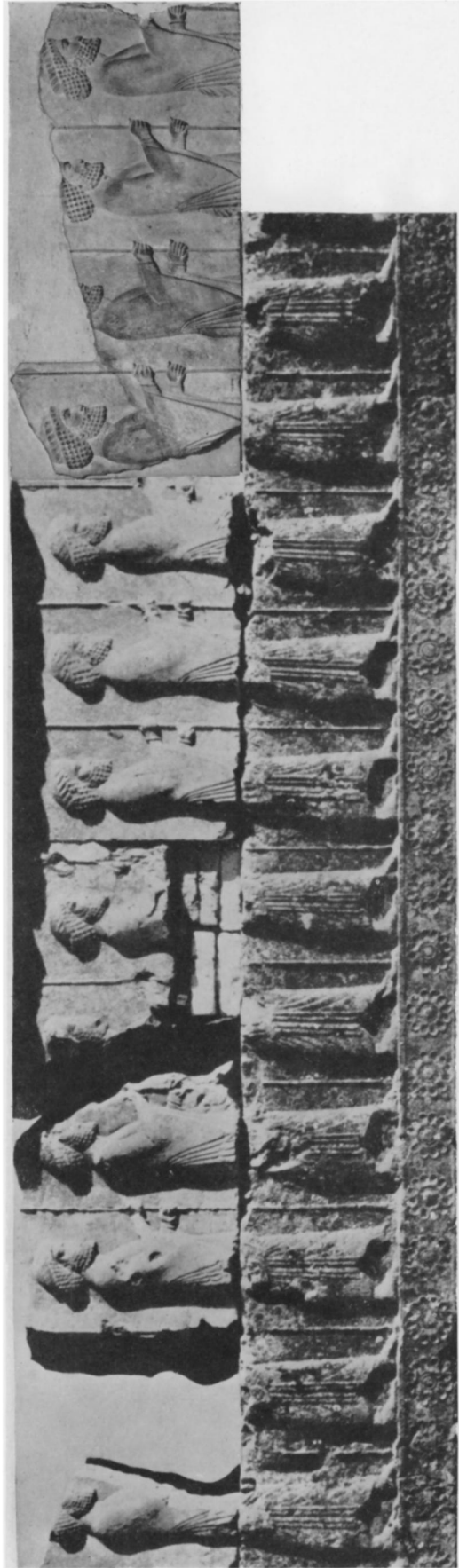
Fragments of reliefs from the Apadana at Persepolis (see pp. 61, 63).

1. BM. 118857. 2. BM. 118848. 3. Edinburgh. 4. BM. 118842. 5. BM. 118869.



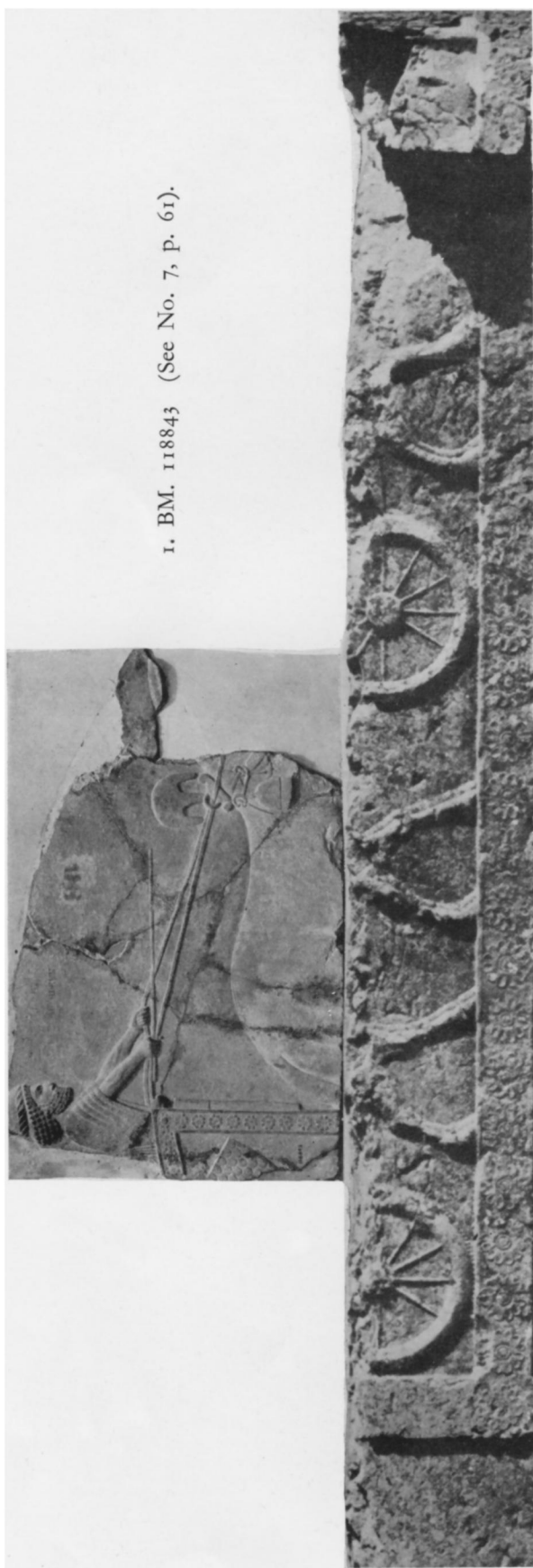


1. BM. 118842 (see No. 6, p. 61).



2. BM. 118838 (see No. 3, p. 61).

Photographic reconstruction of slabs in their original places.



Photographic reconstruction of slabs in their original places.



1. BM. 118866.



2. BM. 118855 (Palace of Darius)



3. BM. 118841.



4. BM. 118856.



5. BM. 118858 (Apadana)

Fragments of reliefs from Persepolis in the British Museum (see pp. 60-61).



BM. 118865.



2. BM. 118844.



3. BM. 118837.



4. BM. 118845.





Fragments of reliefs from Persepolis 1. BM. 118868; 2. Zürich, from the Palace of Darius;  
3. BM. 118864; 4. BM. 129381 from Palace H (see pp. 62-63).



1



2

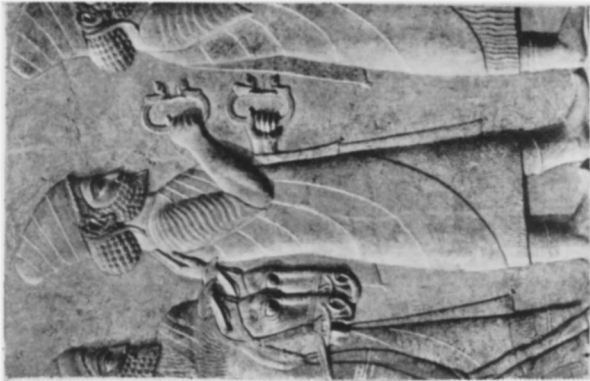
1, 2. Reliefs showing Chorasmanian(?) Scythians.



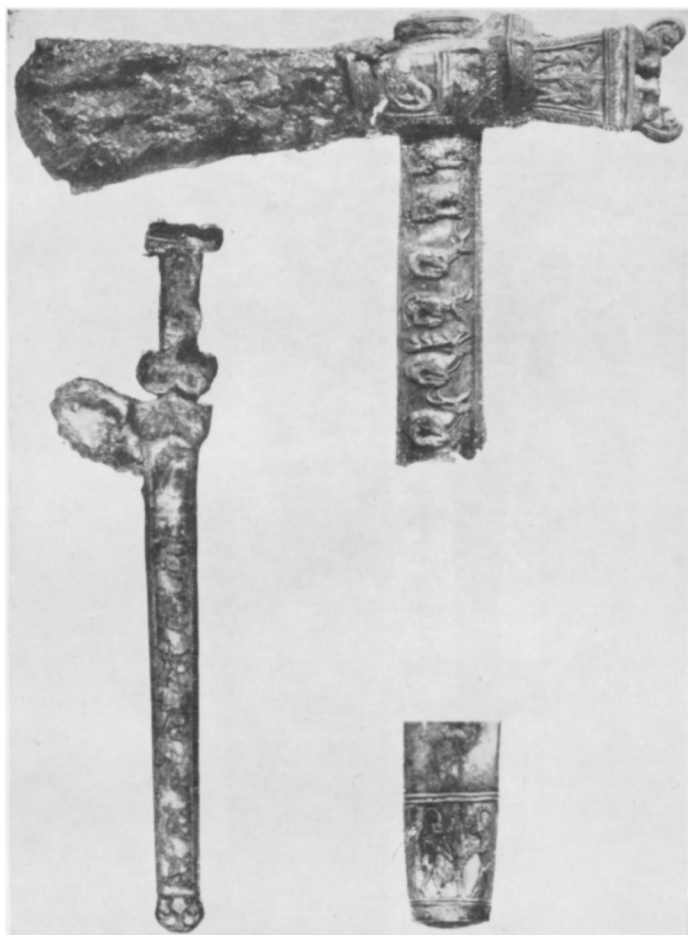
3. Relief showing Sogdians.



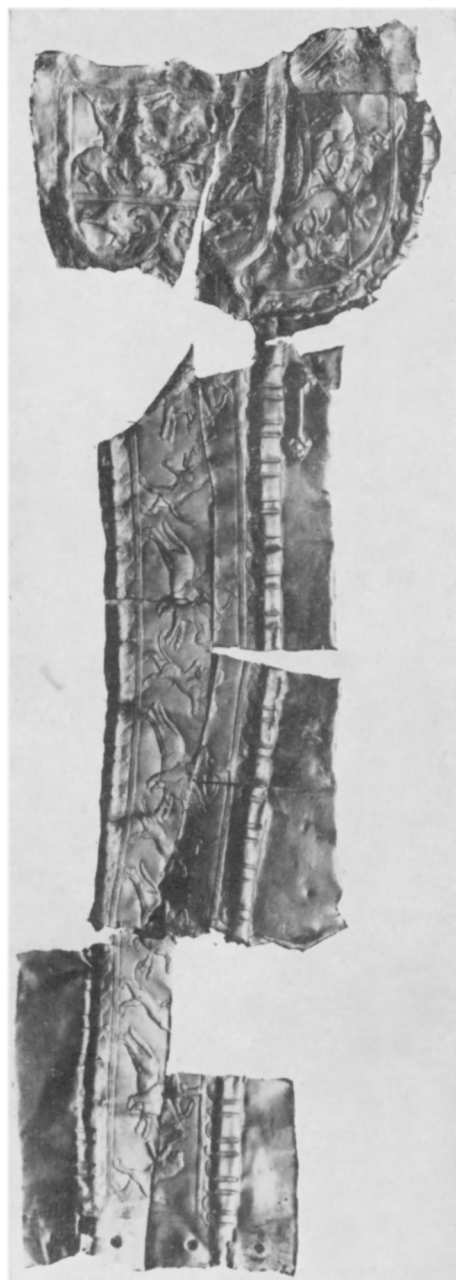
4. A Karakul ram (after Lossen).



5. Relief showing Lydians.



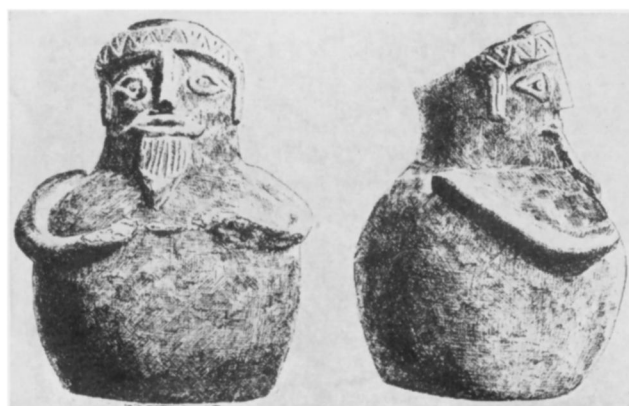
1. Gilded iron axe from Kul Oba; iron sword and sheath from Kelermes.



2. Gold plating of scabbard from the Oxus treasure.



3. Stamp-cylinder (Graz), with impressions.



4. Plastic vase from Kazakhstan, 6-7th century A.D.

Suez Canal inscriptions, and Skudra of Thrace, who do not appear before the Naqsh-i-Rustam sculptures and must therefore be an afterthought, deriving from Darius' Scythian campaign of 513, while the Indian nations are clearly a consequence of his operations in the Punjab in 510. A date between 510 and 500 is thus probable for these reliefs.

\*       \*       \*

Now for the question of order. I give on p. 73 that proposed by Herzfeld and by Schmidt, those identifications which are not accepted by me being put in square brackets. This is compiled by Schmidt in a strange manner prescribed by Herzfeld, by reading the series in threes vertically downwards instead of taking them (as one more naturally would) as following in single file horizontally along each sculptured band marked by rosettes.

Now clearly Schmidt's method of reading makes up no recognisable geographical pattern, whether of contrasted areas or otherwise. Again, it is produced by a method of reading, the order of which is out of keeping with everything we know of ancient methods of representation, whereas if we follow the horizontal bands, with the three proposed corrections, some sort of coherent geographical sequence does emerge, even if it is not that of the Darius inscriptions. Yet it is a most extraordinary thing that the order of the Throne Bearers of the Throne Hall<sup>1</sup> and Council Hall<sup>2</sup>, though more numerous by five figures, exactly follows the order of the Apadana reliefs if read vertically. Either, then, the designer of the Apadana series meant them to be so read (which I doubt) and Herzfeld was right, or he was wrong, by this method having wrenched them all out of order, but was preceded in antiquity in his mistaken method of reading by the designer of the Throne Hall and Council Hall figures, who copies his order from the Apadana. No other explanation of this enigma is at present available.

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt, pls. 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt, pl. 108-113.



## APADANA

Vertically read:			Horizontally read:			Council Hall		Throne Hall
Delegation	Name	Plate	Delegation	Name		Delegation	Name	Name
1. Medians		27 } Centre	1. Medians		Centre	1. Median		W.1 Median
2. Susians		28 } N.W.	2. Susians			2. Susian		E.1 Susian
3. Armenians		29 } E.	4. Arians		Far E.	3. Armenian		E.2 Armenian
4. Arians (Haraiva ?)		30 } W.	7. Arachosians			4. Arian		W.2 Arian
5. Babylonians (Babirus)		31 } Far E.	10. Egyptians			5. Babylonian		W.3 Babylon
6. [Syrians] SOGDIA NS		32 } Far E.	13. Parthians		Centre	6. Syrian		E.3 Syrian
7. Arachosians (Haraувatīs)		33 } Far N.W.	16. Sagartians			7. Arachosian		W.4 Arachosian
8. [Cilicians] LYDIA NS		34 } Far S.W.	3. Armenians		Far N.W.	8. Cilician		E.4 Cilician
9. Cappadocians (Katpatuka)		35 } Far N.	5. Babylonians			9. Cappadocian		W.5 Cappadocian
10. Egyptians (Mudraya)		36 } Far W.	8. Lydians			10. Egyptian		E.5 Egyptian
11. Scythians (Saka Tigrakhauda)		37 } E.	11. Saka tigrakhauda		Far N.E.	11. Saka tigrakh		W.6 Saka tigrakh
12. Ionians (Yauna)		38 } Centre	14. Gandharians			12. Ionian		E.6 Ionian
13. Parthians (Parthava)		39 } Far N.	17. Chorsmians			13. Parthian		W.7 Parthian
14. Gandharians (Gandhara)		40 } E.	6. Sogdians		N.W.	14. Gandharian		E.7 Gandharian
15. Bactrians (Bakhtriš)		41 } Centre	9. Cappadocians			15. Bactrian		W.8 Bactrian
16. Sagartians (Asagarta)		42 } Far N.	12. Ionians			16. Sagartian		E.8 Sagartian
17. [Sogdians (Sugda)]		43 } Far E.	15. Bactrians		Far E.	17. Scythian		W.9 Scythian
—CHORASMIANS			18. Indians		N.W.	18. Scythian		E.9 Scythian
18. Indians (Hinduš)		44 } Far S.W.	19. Scudrians			19. Indian		W.10 Indian
19. Skudrians (Škudra)		45 } Far S.W.	20. Arabs			20. Scythian		E.10 Scythian
20. Arabians (Arabaya)		46 } E.	21. Drangianians			21. Sattagydzian		W.11 Sattagydzian
21. Drangianians (Zranka)		47 } Far S.W.	22. Libyans			22. Sogdian		E.11 Sogdian
22. Libyans (Putiya)		48 } Far S.W.	24. Ethiopians			23. Scythian		W.12 Scythian
23. Ethiopians (Kūšiya)		49 }				24. "Group VII "		E.12 "Group VII "
						25. "Group III "		W.13 "Group III "
						26. Libyan		E.13 Libyan
						27. Ethiopian		W.14 Ethiopian
						28. Scythian		E.14 Scythian
						with Persians: 29		

*Pasargadae and the Sources of Achaemenid Art and Architecture*

The material now presented about Persepolis, the greatest surviving monument of the Achaemenid builders, prompts one to take up again the question of their sources of artistic inspiration. Important information about a part of them is furnished in this book by the section on Pasargadae. The remains of the city of Cyrus the Great to the north of Persepolis have been frequently discussed.<sup>1</sup> But Schmidt adds here fresh material of importance, showing from aerial photographs that Pasargadae lay at the centre of a fortified military enceinte. He also<sup>2</sup> gives new views of the Zendan or Tower, which, as Herzfeld pointed out<sup>3</sup>, very closely resembles in plan and elevation the grave-tower at Naqsh-i-Rustam, called Qaba-es-Zardusht. The similarities between the architecture of Pasargadae, with both that of Assyria and of Urartu, are now more noticeable than previously<sup>4</sup>. The dentils, representing the beam-ends of the flat roof, the vertical slits in the form of windows, the contrasting of horizontal bands of different coloured stone<sup>5</sup>, the use of large stone blocks with drafted edges<sup>6</sup>, can all be traced back to the monuments of Van, either in the model building from Toprak Kale<sup>7</sup> or, in the last case, the actual remains of the Temple of Haldi there<sup>8</sup>.

The very plan itself of the Tomb of Cyrus, a small box-like building with a gabled roof, below which is a Greek kyma<sup>9</sup>, reproduces the original appearance of an Urartian Temple, to judge from the representation of that at Musasir<sup>10</sup> and the ground plan of that at Toprak Kale<sup>11</sup>, the chief difference being that, like a miniature Ziggurat, it has been placed at the top of a series of six steps. The rectangular ground plan of free-standing towers with reinforced buttresses at the corners, such as the Tower (Schmidt, fig. 6B), can be traced back to the recently excavated tower at Karmir Blur<sup>12</sup>. Some Assyrian features can also be found both in technique—such as the use of iron (swallow-tail?) clamps set in lead<sup>13</sup>, and in decoration. Thus Palace (S) at Pasargadae had an oblong hall, the entrance of which was carved with protective figures of demons in relief and the monumental gateway was decorated with huge winged bulls. Yet other features are neither Urartian nor Assyrian, but Iranian. The loose arrangement of pavilions in a park is, as Frankfort says, that of a nomad chief

<sup>1</sup> e.g. by Flandin & Coste, Dieulafoy, and Herzfeld in *Iranische Felsreliefs* especially.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 52.

<sup>4</sup> Barnett, "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale", in *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> H. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 217.

<sup>6</sup> In "The Throne of Solomon's Mother". Schmidt, fig. 7. Schmidt wrongly asserts that Pasargadae provides the earliest example of drafted edges. They also occur apart from Van, at Nimrud in buildings of Sennacherib, and at Samaria in masonry,

perhaps of the ninth century B.C. (Fitzgerald, *P.E.Q.* 1932, pl. 1.1).

<sup>7</sup> Barnett, *loc. cit.*, pl. I.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* fig. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 171.

<sup>10</sup> Barnett, 'Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale,' in *Iraq*, XII, Pt. 1, fig. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Barnett, 'Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale,' Addenda, *Iraq*, XVI, Pt. 1, Fig. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Oganessian, *Karmir Blur IV (Arkhitektura Teishebaini)* Erivan 1956, pls. 58, 59.

<sup>13</sup> Schmidt, p. 22.

and is presumably Iranian.<sup>1</sup> The oblong hall is supported by two rows of four columns. The column bases of black stone were in the form of a plain discoid torus resting on a square plinth<sup>2</sup>. Four kinds of animal capital—a horned and crested lion's head, a leonine monster, a bull and a horse's head—have been found, obviously the forerunners of those of Persepolis and Susa<sup>3</sup>. No exact monumental antecedents of this ground plan with columns are known in Iran, but at Karmir Blur in Urartu we find a hall with a central row of four square columns supporting the roof<sup>4</sup>. In another palace (P) the doorway lintels are sculpted with a representation in relief of Cyrus standing there with his attendant<sup>5</sup>, an idea which, though familiar at Persepolis, does not appear to be derived from Assyrian or Babylonian sources. The technique of representing folds of the garment, later canonical in Persian art, is first met here<sup>6</sup>. It seems possible that it is derived from Ionic Greek art. The central hall has six rows of five columns each, resting on horizontally fluted bases, which were made in one piece with the lowest drum of the shaft. If these buildings at Pasargadae and the representation of that at Da-u-Dukhtar<sup>7</sup> with Ionic capitals date from the lifetime of Cyrus (559–530), either the Persians formed the models which guided Ionic Greek architects in developing the Ionic style of architecture or we have in them the evidence of Greek workmen working already for the Persians (which is less likely). The same dilemma exists over the history of the treatment of folded garments<sup>8</sup>.

We shall, in fact, probably not be far wrong if we regard Pasargadae as illustrating the end of, or transition from Median culture to that of Persia, or to later Achaemenid art, to which the details of the Behistun relief, studied by Herzfeld<sup>9</sup>, are a further step. In the absence of the excavation of Ecbatana, we have to be content with hints as to the character of Median art. An enlarged photograph of the traditional detail of a Median's sword scabbard (Schmidt, pl. 120) shows that to the Medians belonged the ivory or bone chapes existent in some of our Museums<sup>10</sup> in form of a lion eating a goat, so

<sup>1</sup> Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> For a prototype in early Elamite art of the Achaemenid animal capital, see Contenau, *Monuments Mésopotamiens*, 17 and pl. XC.

<sup>3</sup> Similar bases occur below the columns with Ionic capitals at the tomb of Da-u-Dukhtar, which Herzfeld would date early in the 6th century (*Iran in the Ancient East*), pl. XXVI and pl. XXVII.

<sup>4</sup> Oganessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 14.

<sup>5</sup> An illustration of part of Cyrus' servant: Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (pl. LXXI, fig. 363). Frankfort thinks it possible that these sculptures were added by Darius.

<sup>6</sup> The dating of the statue from Palanga with a late Hittite inscription and elaborate folded dress (Barnett, *J.H.S.* 1948, fig. 19 on p. 21) would, of course, be

very relevant if it could be fixed.

<sup>7</sup> Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, fig. 317. In the argument for Oriental priority of Ionic style we cannot ignore the pavilion much resembling Da-u-Dukhtar with columns bearing Ionic capitals beside a fire altar, illustrated at Khorsabad (Botta, *Monument de Ninive II*, pl. 114: Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies I* fig., p. 309, set amid pinewoods in the (presumably) Iranian foothills.

<sup>8</sup> See, for Iranian priority, Herzfeld's arguments, *op. cit.*, p. 259–260. For the contrary view, Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Iranische Felsreliefs*, p. 189.

<sup>10</sup> Several are in the Louvre, one in the British Museum (from Egypt).

stylised as to suggest Scythian influence. But this is precisely what is found in the Ziwiye treasure, associated by one scholar very plausibly with the origins of Median art<sup>1</sup>. The same scabbard has a most unusual scalloped edge which recurs, as Herzfeld noted<sup>2</sup>, on the gold plating of a scabbard in the Oxus Treasure, where a king, wearing a crown of Assyrian or neo-Babylonian style, is hunting the lion<sup>3</sup>. Surely this must be Astyages (Pl. XXIII, 2).

There are thus fair indications that originally the Medians first developed in N.W. Persia in the late VIIth century a local art under mixed Urartian, Assyrian and Scythian influence (not without some Phoenician contributions) and an architecture incorporating lessons from the first two sources. When Cyrus moved the capital of his empire from Ecbatana to Pasargadae in Elam, these elements were still present. But when Darius made his capitals in the heart of Elam at Susa and Persepolis, the predominant influence now became Elamite. Urartu was not extinguished—Darius had an Armenian opponent, Ara-kha, son of Haldi-ti, who bore in their names those of two chief Urartian gods. A “stamp cylinder” of Urartian type, in the Johanneum at Graz, yet with a purely Achaemenid subject, shows that Urartians preserved some of their customs (Pl. XXIII, 3)<sup>4</sup>. But already the divine figure at Pasargadae, perhaps representing the *fravashi* of Cyrus, wears the Elamite royal robe with rosette border, as shown worn by Teumman in the battle scene of the Eulaeus depicted at Nineveh<sup>5</sup>. The Elamite *candys* was adopted as court dress<sup>6</sup>; government records were kept in Elamite, now one of the official tongues of the Empire.

It is only now that the French excavations at Susa, after the confused picture of earlier years, have begun to reach Elamite levels by digging stratigraphically, and now at last, thanks to M. Ghirshman's tireless work, there and at Tchoga Zambil, our knowledge of Elamite art is being soundly based. Elamite decorative features at Persepolis now leap to the eye. The reliance on gaily-coloured glazed bricks (though popular in Babylon, too), the use of the concentric circle<sup>7</sup> as a decorative, presumably apotropaic motif (though popular also in Urartu), go back to Elam. The very idea of stairs carved with ascending or descending processions, as in the Apadana, in spite of Lord Curzon's attribution of it to the Persian genius<sup>8</sup>, would seem to be foreshadowed in the stepped processions of old Elamite worshippers carved descending the

<sup>1</sup> H. H. von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser*, 1956. See Barnett, 'The Treasure of Ziwiye', *Iraq*, XVIII, Pt. 2, pp. 111 ff, for the dating of this treasure.

<sup>2</sup> *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, 22, pl. IX.

<sup>4</sup> I owe thanks to the Curator of the Johanneum for permission to publish this, and to Dr. Margaret

Falkner, for kind assistance in procuring the photograph.

<sup>5</sup> Herzfeld pointed this out, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 153–163.

<sup>6</sup> H. Schneider, *Das persische Weltreich* (1941) quoted by Schmidt, 117.

<sup>7</sup> Information from M. Ghirshman.

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 58.

rock at Kurangun and Naqsh-i-Rustam.<sup>1</sup> From all this varied heritage, the Achaemenids forged an artistic tradition, a *koinê* which, though cold, dry and formal in style, was yet technically skilled and in total effect monumental. It was intended to be an international language that should convey in architectural terms to the world the message that the great king was the lawful heir to the kings of Assyria<sup>2</sup>, Babylon, Elam and Egypt. In this scheme of things, Persepolis, the only survivor of Achaemenid splendour to-day, took a leading place. In the words of Strabo<sup>3</sup>, ἦν δὲ ἡ Περσέπολις μετὰ Σοῦσα κάλλιστα κατεσκευασμένη μεγίστη πόλις, ἔχουσα βασιλεία ἐκπρεπὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῶν κειμένων.

<sup>1</sup> Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935), pls. II–IV. Mr. John Boardman, however, shows that this idea at least of a double stairway in converging directions leading to the temple platform was known in Chios at the end of the 6th century B.C., and may be imported from Greece. But there it was at least unillustrated with reliefs.

<sup>2</sup> The theme of the lion hunt, treated by the Assyrians as a major subject of narrative art, has shrunk at Persepolis to a formal and unconvincing,

almost heraldic single combat between the Persian king, typifying good, and a lion, bull or monster, typifying evil; yet it was still imposing enough for the Moslems to see in it, once the Great King was forgotten, their own legendary figure of the chase, Jamshid, thus giving Persepolis its native name of 'Jamshid's Throne'.

'They say the Lion and the Lizard keep  
The Halls where Jamshid gloried and drank deep.'

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, *Geog.* 15.3.6.



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Further Russian Excavations in Armenia (1949-1953)

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## FURTHER RUSSIAN EXCAVATIONS IN ARMENIA (1949-1953)

By R. D. BARNETT

THE Russian excavations at Karmir-Blur, conducted since 1939 jointly by the Institute of History of the Armenian Republic and the Hermitage Museum, are the only excavations of an Urartian site of any importance as yet made under scientific conditions.<sup>1</sup> A summary of the first part of their publication was published in this Journal in 1952,<sup>2</sup> and it is in keeping with the importance of this excavation that a further summary, covering the seasons 1949 to 1953, should be made available to English readers.<sup>3</sup>

Part II<sup>4</sup> describes the seasons 1949-1950, during which the expedition continued work on the citadel and a sector of the town of Teišebaini, especially on its domestic quarters, and showed that this city was one of the principal administrative centres of Trans-Caucasia (Fig. 1). Particularly important was the discovery of two great storerooms, numbered 25 and 28, used for storing wine in vast *pitthoi* (jars), the total content of which is estimated to have been about 150,000 litres of wine, apparently the equivalent of 600 *akarki*—the Urartian unit of liquid measure. It is pointed out, however, that King Menuaš speaks of building even greater wine cellars, capable of holding 900 *akarki*.<sup>5</sup> Remains of grape pips point to the cultivation of grapes of the type of Voskeat (Chardji), Mschali, Ararat (Hachabash) and also some black grapes.

The disturbances of the late eighth century involved administrative changes causing the centre of government to be moved from Argištiḫinili (Armavir) to Tušpa (modern Van). It is probable that this led to the removal of objects bearing the name of Menuaš and Argištiš I to Karmir-Blur, where the majority of objects bear the names of kings of the seventh century B.C.

In 1950, on the outskirts of Erevan, a text of Argištiš I was discovered, describing his erection of a mighty fortress called Irpuini, in which he settled 6,600 people from Ḫatē and Šupani i.e., North Syria and the Upper Euphrates. It seems that Karmir-Blur, on the other hand, was settled with warriors and their families, and farmers and craftsmen who were employed to work the raw material brought as tribute and stored there. When the Scythians massed

<sup>1</sup> A small excavation is now reported at Arin-Berd (Irpuini)—I. M. Losyeva, "Raskopki Urartskoi Kreposti goroda Irpuini," *Sovetskoye Vostokovedenie*, 3, 1955. See also p. 12, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Barnett & Watson: "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq*, XIV, Pt. 2, pp. 132-147.

<sup>3</sup> The photographs illustrated in the accompanying plates were courteously supplied by B. B. Piotrovsky.

<sup>4</sup> B. B. Piotrovsky: *Karmir-Blur* II, *Rezultaty Raskopok* 1949-51, Erevan 1952. III, 1951-53, Erevan 1955. A further part has also appeared dealing with the architecture, which it is hoped will be summarised in a future article (K. L. Oganesyan, *Karmir-Blur* IV, *Arhitektura Teishebaini*, Erevan 1955).

<sup>5</sup> Bostan-kaya inscription (from near Melazgerd).

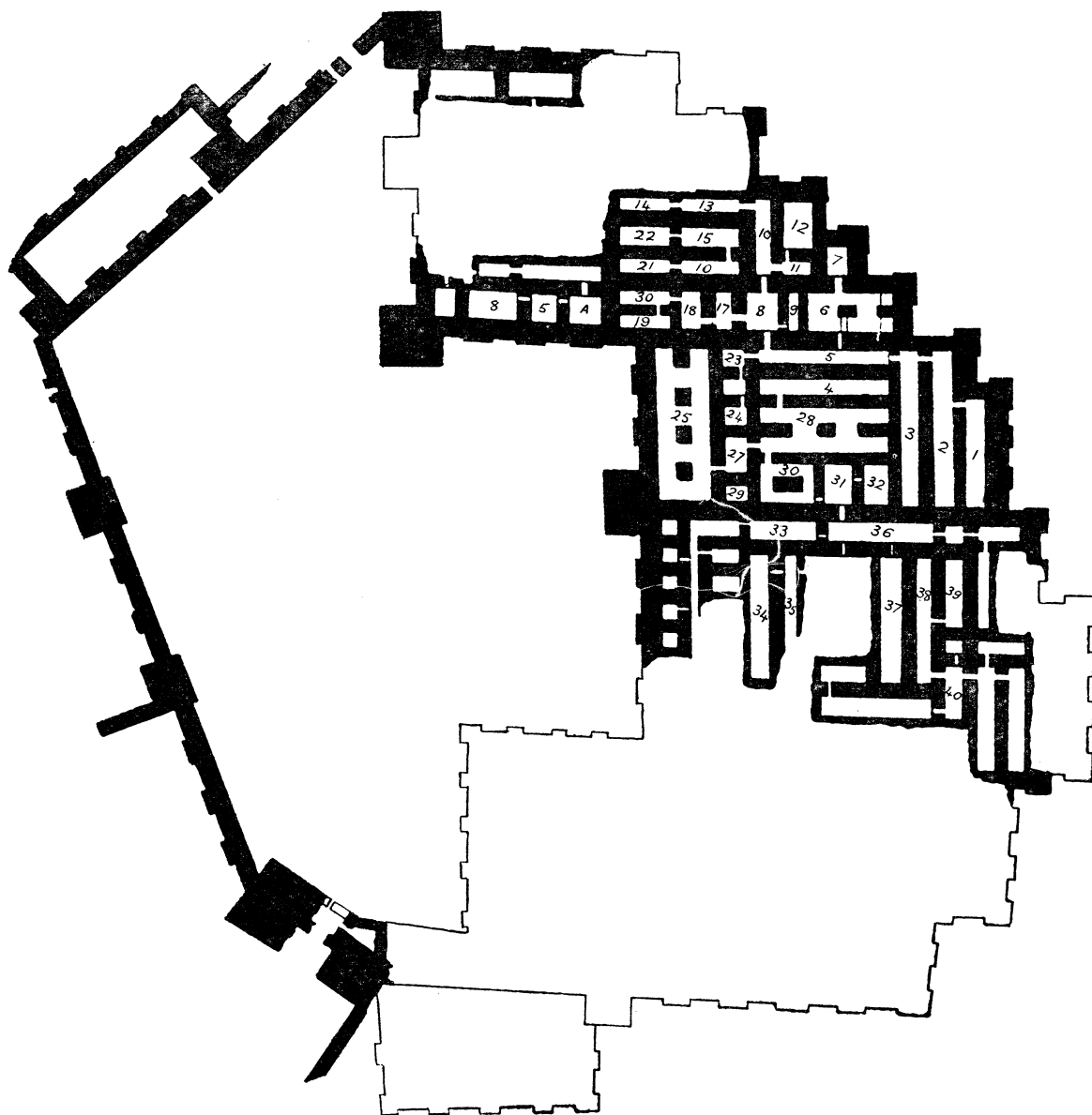


FIG. 1. Plan of the Fortress, Karmir-Blur.

to attack Karmir-Blur, it seems that the wine cellars were already empty and had been used for storing other goods, in some cases cereals, in other cases wooden, bronze or iron objects; and later still, these cellars were used for temporary dwellings by settlers who were there at the time the fortress fell, and seem to have disturbed many of the objects stored.



*Storeroom 25.* ( $31 \times 10.3$  metres), was first found in 1948. (Plate Ia). On account of its wide span, three piers were required to support its roof beams. Over them a layer of reeds and branches was laid, and a firmly packed layer of earth formed the roof. In this room 82 great jars were sunk in the floor, arranged along the length of the room in four rows (19, 20, 22, 21). They were of different capacities and bore in many cases incised marks indicating the amount of capacity, nineteen in cuneiform, the rest in Urartian hieroglyphs. They were intended for storing wine, and a large clay filler was found on the floor; but they were empty, and six were used for cereals of different kinds,

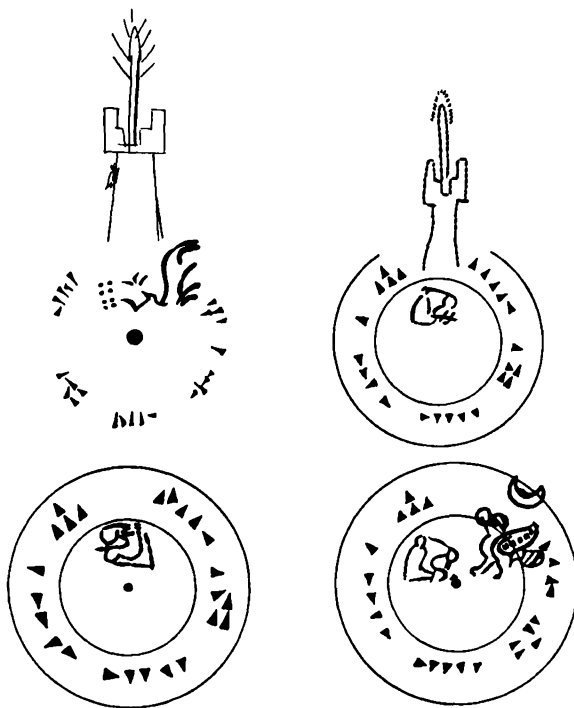


FIG. 2. Inscriptions of Sarduriš, incised on bronze cups.

Nos. 48, 72 and 73 containing wheat, No. 42 barley, No. 49 millet and No. 45 flour.

Jar No. 5 in the North-west section contained, hidden under boards, 97 bronze cups bearing cuneiform inscriptions of Menuaš, Argištiš, Sarduriš, and Rusaš. Several had schematic designs, apparently royal monograms, scratched with a knife. They appeared to be in excellent condition, some retaining their original shine. They were probably used for festive occasions and, being valuable, had evidently been hidden in the cellars to save them from the enemy (Fig. 2).

In the North-west corner by the wall lay a group of metal objects—two large iron sickles, two adzes, curved knives, a dagger, points of throwing-spears, an

arrow, bits of a saw, an iron cup, an iron disc with remains of a handle, remains of Scythian horse-harness: an iron bridle, long horse ornaments (*psalia*) with three holes, four bronze strap buckles (three in the form of a bird's head, the fourth in that of a ram's head), a bronze pot nailed together from strips, and cast handles bearing animal heads, and a bronze bell with an iron clapper. On top of this lay a clay vase holding some paste and sardonyx beads and seals, a small bone jar with carved designs and a bone seal with an indistinguishable winged figure on its base.

In some jars were bones of small rodents, such as a mouse, grey hamster, and shrew-mouse. No. 82 contained the skeleton of a (presumably tame) long-tailed steppe-cat and a mouse, which it seems to have pursued into the jar and then been unable to get out.

No. 40 contained a seal, fragments of bone inlays and bits of wood, and a bone buckle.

Two jars contained bronze arrow-heads, one (No. 68) having those of three-bladed Scythian type (obviously from the siege of the fortress), while No. 37 bore examples of another type—flat with a very long tang.

Between two of the central piers was found a small sacrificial table of clay (1.8 long  $\times$  0.6 high, with three depressions). It bore marks of frequent burning and was heaped with ashes and bones. By the pier to the north of the table was a little box for ashes, and near the other pier was a small board for a seat.

Room 26, which abutted on No. 25 on the east, was filled with a great quantity of bones of large and small horned cattle. One heap consisted of bones other than skulls and bones of lower extremities, the other of bones of young animals a few days old. These were apparently the remains of sacrifices offered on the sacrificial table in Storeroom 25, intended to avert evil influences from the stores of food. Near the sacrificial table lay a clay cup for burning incense. Nearby on a clay step stood clay figures of divinities<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 3) some in the form of standing bearded males with one hand held out—perhaps to hold a spear or twig, remains of which were found in some cases—their heads and backs being covered with fish-skins. Originally these figures were coloured, traces on the back of bright blue paint still surviving. Of these figures, three were whole and the broken bases of two others were found. Near the sacrificial table was found a basket, by then empty, and on the floor a clay bulla, with stamped impressions and faint cuneiform signs. It seems that the intruder broke and threw down the bulla, opened the basket and scattered the figures of the gods and sacrificial equipment.

This storeroom also contained many small pieces of clay wall surface bearing traces of painting, which had probably fallen in from the upper parts of walls

<sup>1</sup> Piotrovsky takes them for fish-priests, such as are used in Assyria in the ritual for driving out demons [on these figures, called *apkallû*, see Woolley, J.R.A.S. 1926, 689–708] and points to another example on an

Uartian seal illustrated in his *Istoriya Kultura Urartu*, p. 282. Another figure of a scorpion-man was found in Room 28 (Fig. 4).

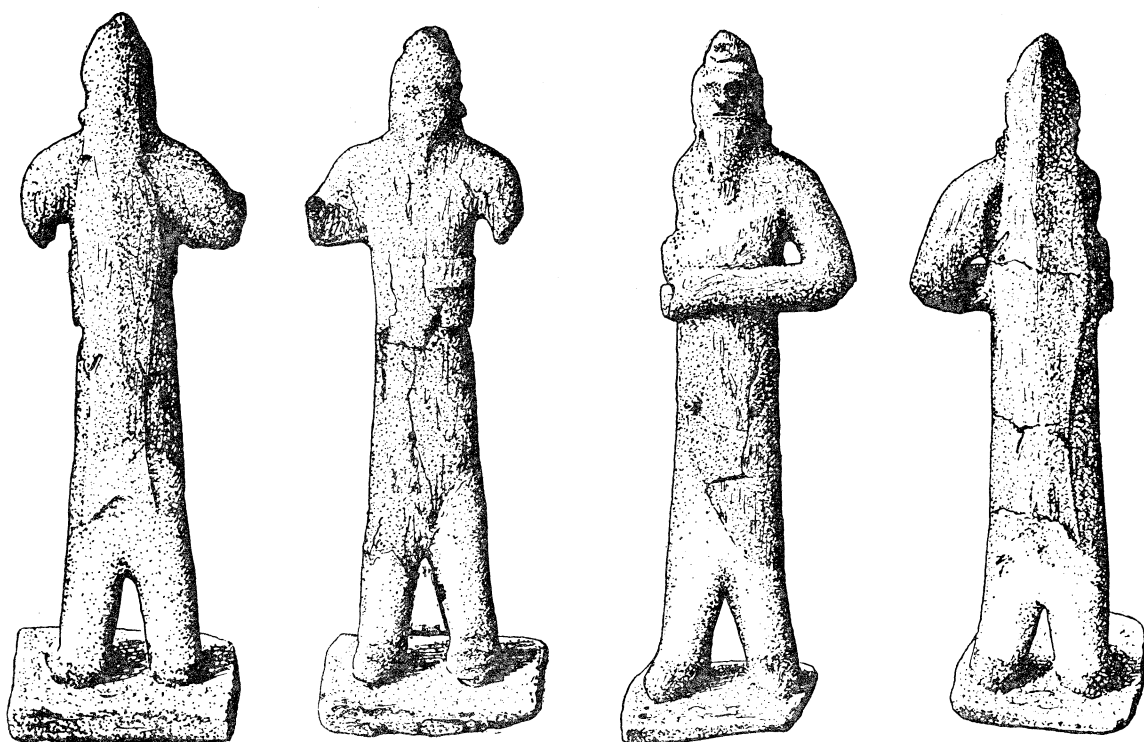


FIG. 3. Clay figures of divinities wearing fish-dress. Front and back views.  
(From Storeroom 26.)

or from rooms in an upper floor. These fragments of fresco represented winged gods beside a disc-shaped ornamental motif, similar to those found by Orbeli at Toprak Kale.<sup>1</sup>

The room had been heavily burnt, and when the roof beams fell, they had covered the floor with a layer of ashes.

*Storeroom 28.* (27 × 10.3 m.) lay between Storerooms 25 and 3. (Plate Ib). It was found in 1950. This room was divided into two narrow corridors by two projecting tongue-walls and an intervening pier. The walls of sun-dried brick on a stone socle survived through 27 rows of bricks to about half their original height. Fragments of the roof beams lay on the tongue-walls and pier, the end of one being still in place on the upper part of the North wall. The walls of the adjacent rooms on the south rose higher than those of Room 28,

<sup>1</sup> At Toprak Kale, Orbeli in 1911-12 found remains of red marble veneer with figures of bulls, trees, and ornamental friezes (*material i po arkeologii rusii* 1912, 34). One fragment of fresco painting, found near the sacrificial altar, is 1.20 cms. long and is decorated with a framing pattern. Others are ornamental patterns, circles with inscribed cross, crossing bands, linked with circles with central rosettes, parts of face

and horns of horned gods or of their dress ornamented with squares inscribed with rosettes, remains of discs with radiating beams, at the ends of which are palm-ettes and pomegranates. The colours, though destroyed by burning were found to be a bright red ochre rich in iron, and a brighter red consisting of yellow ochre. Outlines were in black, and the ground was of thick china clay.

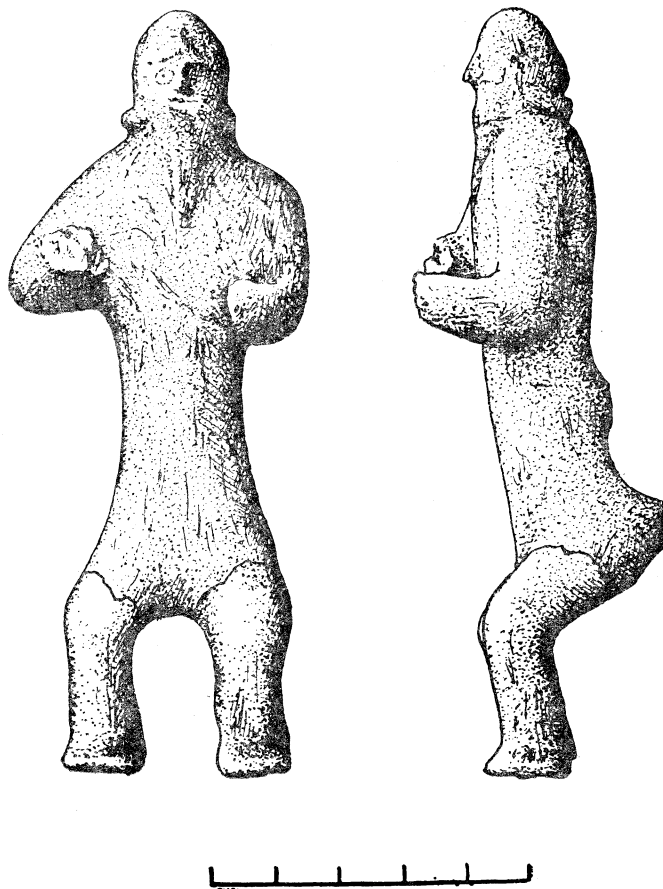


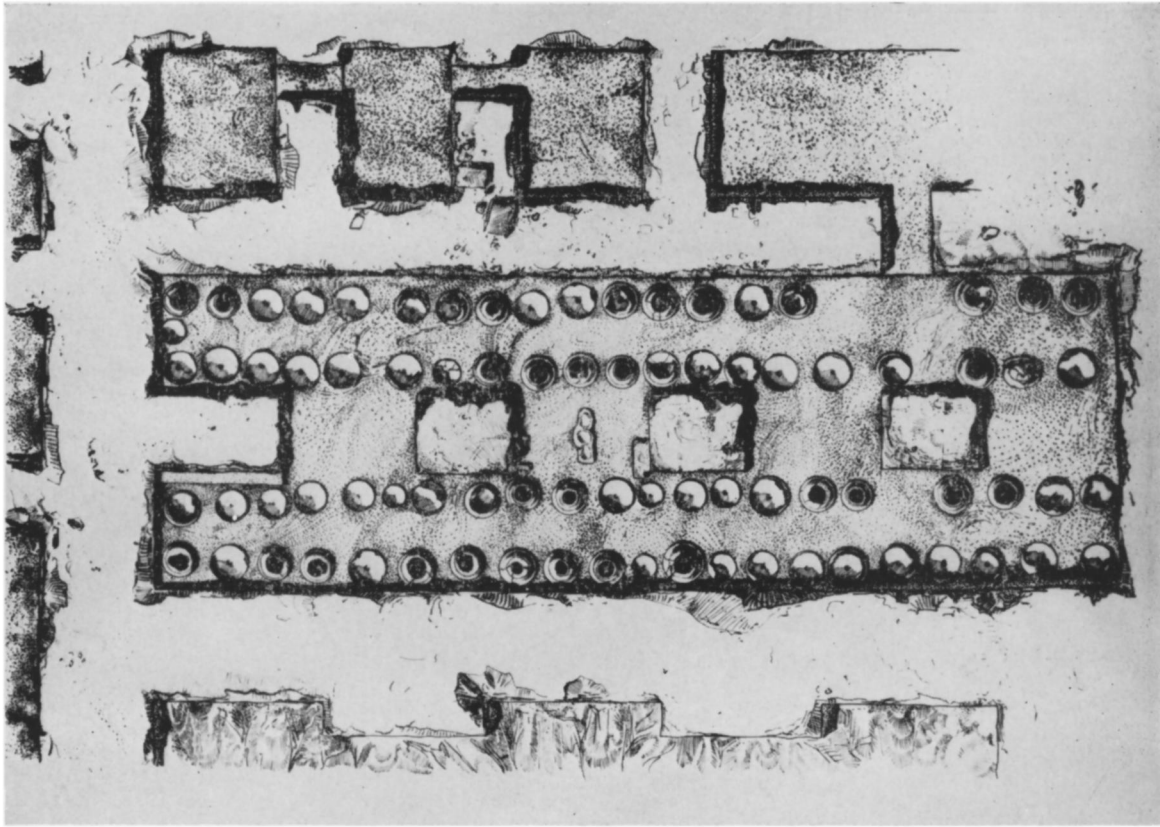
FIG. 4. Clay figure of Scorpion-man. Front and side views (Storeroom 28).

probably forming one level with the walls of Rooms 3 and 25. Room 28 thus formed a kind of enclosed area. The walls of the room abutting Room 28 on the South were decorated with three turrets consisting of three rows of well-hewn basalt blocks. These were found fallen into the southern part of Room 28. Two further turrets also stood apparently on the tongue walls. A third still survived in place and could be restored.<sup>1</sup>

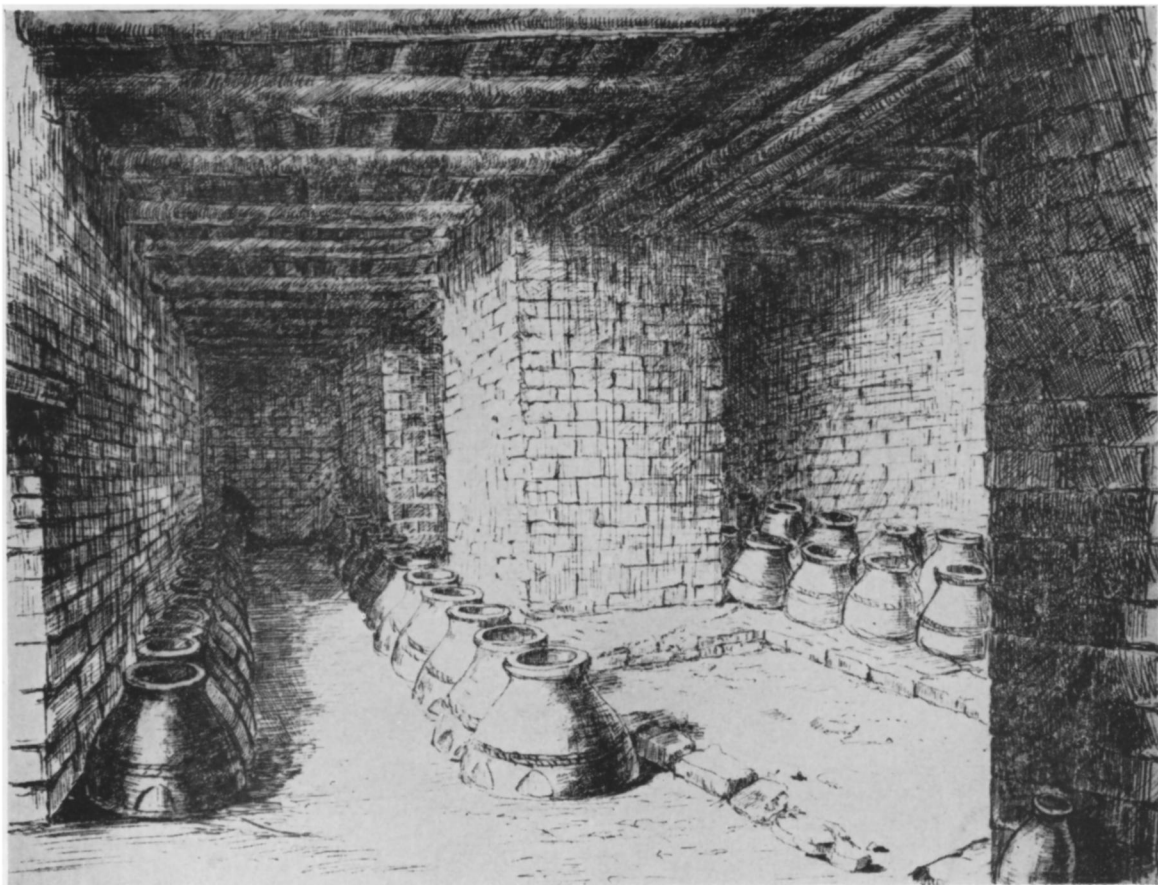
Storeroom 28 had three doors; that on the North led to small long room containing narrow vases, used for cereals, and for making beer (see *Karmir-Blur* I, p. 28, Fig. 10), a group of iron and bronze objects and pieces of sawn horn. The walls were covered with a coating of clay, the floor was earthen and held seventy great clay jars in four rows (arranged 18, 16, 18, 18), inscribed like those of Room 25 with their capacities, but in this case in hieroglyphs. Those on

<sup>1</sup> Height of block 51.8 cm. Height of turret 155.4 cm. The plan was rectangular with sides of 260 and 210 cms. with projections at the corner.

The blocks were laid dry, and it is remarked that such fine stone cutting could only have been possible with iron tools.



*a.* Plan of Storeroom 25.



*b.* Plan of Storeroom 28 (reconstruction).

PLATE II



*a.* Bronze shield bosses for wicker shields (Storeroom 28).



*b.* Clay lamps (from Room 29).

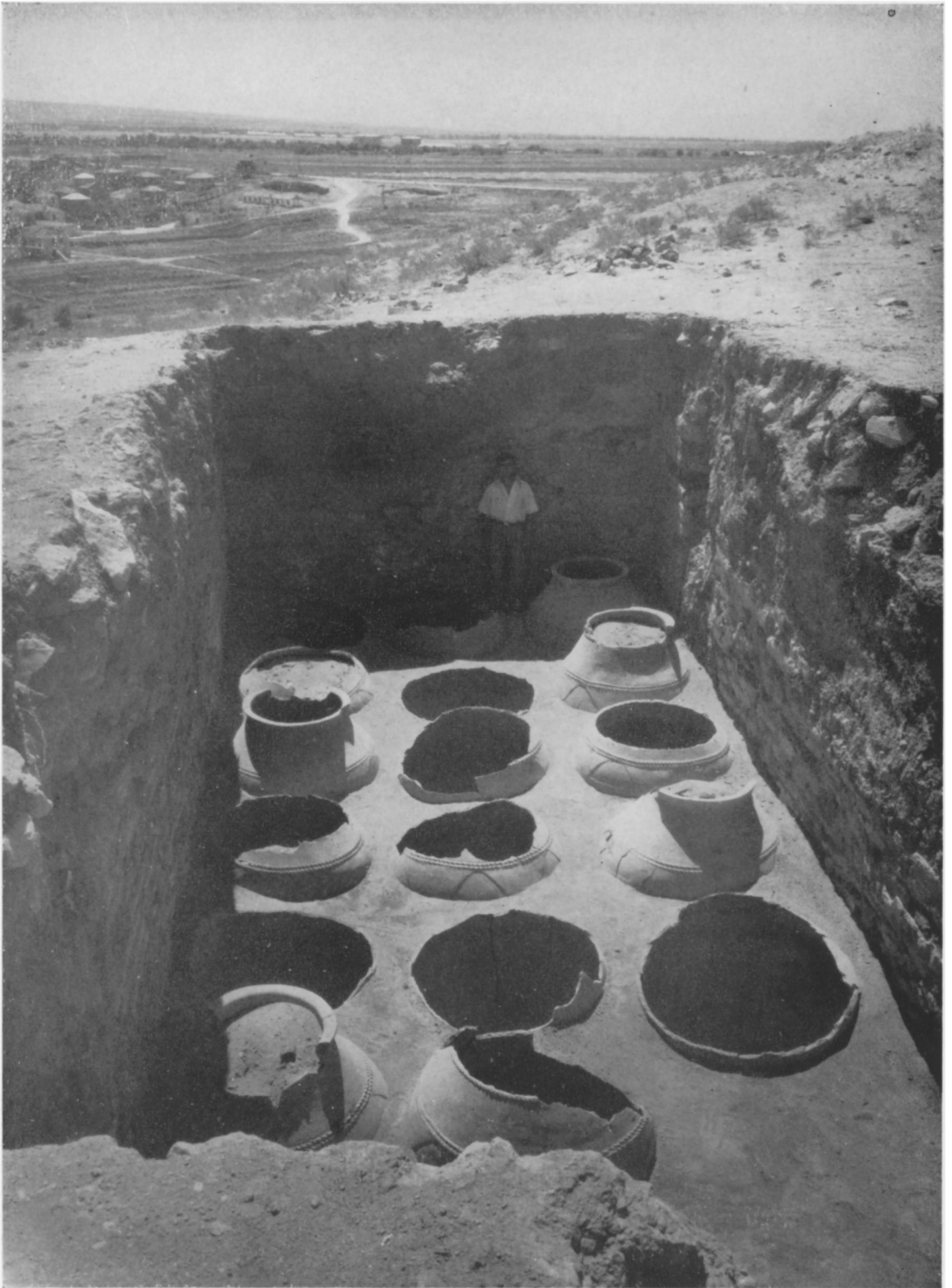


*a.*



*a* and *b*. Part of design on shield of Sarduriš (Room A).





Wine jars in Room 40.



the south side were especially large, and all were marked with signs differing from those of Room 25. Those in the northern part were better preserved, those in the south being damaged by falling walls and turrets. In the north-west part were some pots, one of which contained barley seeds; others were fragments of redware cups, great handleless jugs and coarse vessels. In the north-west corner were two well preserved lamps, of a kind known from Toprak Kale. By the north wall near Vase 66 lay a clay pot filled with some 250 bluish lumps of clay, about 7 cm. long, together with pieces of pumice. The clay contained small fragments of a hard mineral, and it is suggested that the lumps were used as abrasives or polishers for wood or stone. Near the vase were remains of large iron objects. Beside Jar 65 near the door was a clay pot let into the floor—perhaps a hearth, but containing no ashes. Opposite it were pots full of barley and remains of a flat, rectangular brazier with vertical rim, of a type found in contemporary settlements, at the entrance of the citadel.

By the north wall, between Jars 55 and 57, lay a heap of about 30 clay loom-weights, perhaps for making coarse bass mats. Below them lay a bone carving in the form of a goat's head, evidently from the handle of some object. In the north-east corner were many clay pots and objects. By Jar 43 lay the thigh bone of a large horned animal, remains of meat, a coarse pot with seed-like pattern, some red-ware jugs, having incised circles on their handles. Between Jars 8 and 10 lay two clay censers, one like that in Room 25, the other with vertical sides. Nearby was a large iron spearhead and a bronze bracelet ending in snakes' heads. In the eastern entrance were numerous clay pots, one a red polished jug, and a tall red vase stamped with three hieroglyphs. Another pot was stamped in the same way, probably to mark dry measures.

### *Metal Objects*

Jar No. 46 was covered with a great shield about 1 metre across, decorated similarly to that found in 1940 in Room 5,<sup>1</sup> and inscribed with the name of Argištiš, son of Menuaš, and dedicated to Haldi by a king of the city of Irpuini. It had been broken by the falling roof. To the south of Jar 50 was another smaller shield, 70 cm. in diameter which had originally covered it. Its outline was curved, not conical, like that of Argištiš, and its border, 11 cms. wide, bore a single-line inscription of Rusaš son of Sarduriš. It had two iron handles, 20 cms. across, attached with bronze nails. This also had been broken by the falling roof.

In the centre of the southern entrance on the floor there lay a bronze quiver, ornamented with bands and a zig-zag pattern, and inscribed with a dedication of Argištiš, son of Menuaš.

Jar 46 contained many iron objects in bad condition, four spearheads, an iron hammer, great sickles, axeheads, curved knives with wooden or bone

<sup>1</sup> *Karmir-Blur I*, fig. 39.

handles, bracelets, and a belt of bronze plate ornamented with five strips and a stylised tree, like the belt from Ani-pemz,<sup>1</sup> and part of a quiver decorated with rows of lions, bulls and birds, similar to one from Toprak Kale (?) in the Hermitage Museum.

Jar 48 contained half a great cauldron about 60 cms. high, made of bronze plate, the base being nailed on and having a recurved rim. The other half was found in Jar 54, and it is suggested that, the metal being valuable, it has been divided for safe keeping. Jar 58 contained wheat, and a large narrow vase of a type used for storing corn. In the bottom of the jar was a bronze helmet in fine condition, resembling that of Sarduriš found in 1947 in Room 10 (*Iraq* XIV Pt. 2, Pl. XXXII and Fig. 15). It bore a design of deities and sacred trees, war chariots and riders and a dedicatory inscription of Argištiš, son of Menuaš.

Jar 55 contained six bronze conical shield bosses, intended for wicker shields, and decorated with bulls' heads and in one case, buds. Five bore the names of Argištiš and Sarduriš, his son. The sixth was uninscribed, but was decorated with bulls' heads (Plate IIa).

Jar 26 contained wheat, Jar 59 wheat and meal coarsely milled. Jar 63 contained barley, Jar 56 sesame. Jar 15 contained a quantity of seeds of horse-beans, five Urartian seals, remains of a jar of carved bone, wooden and bone handles, a wooden button, a bronze fibula, a small iron knife and a quantity of sardonyx and paste beads.

Jar 60 contained pieces of stag horn, sawn ready for making objects.

*Storeroom* 27, linking 25 and 28, was excavated in 1950. It contained a large collection of bronze cups in bad condition, and remains of a *phiale* of Assyrian type, stone and paste beads, fibulae, and bracelets ending in snakes' heads.

A remarkable stone die-stamp is also mentioned (Fig. 5).

#### *Remains of the Ancient Settlement<sup>2</sup>*

The ancient settlement, covering 40 hectares in the ravine on the south edge of the canyon of the River Zanga, to west and south of the Tell of Karmir-Blur, was investigated (Fig. 7). On the east it was protected by a strong wall which continued the line of fortification of the citadel on the river, then after turning a right-angle, continued about 300

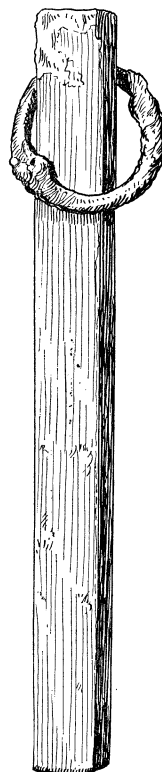


FIG. 5. Stone die-stamp, with bronze ring and engraved design on base, 16 cms. long.

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated in Piotrovsky, *Istoriya i Kultura Urartu*, p. 313, fig. 46.

<sup>2</sup> The report on this is by V. Sorokin.



FIG. 6. Cylinder seals and stamp seals. (Storerooms 25 and 28).

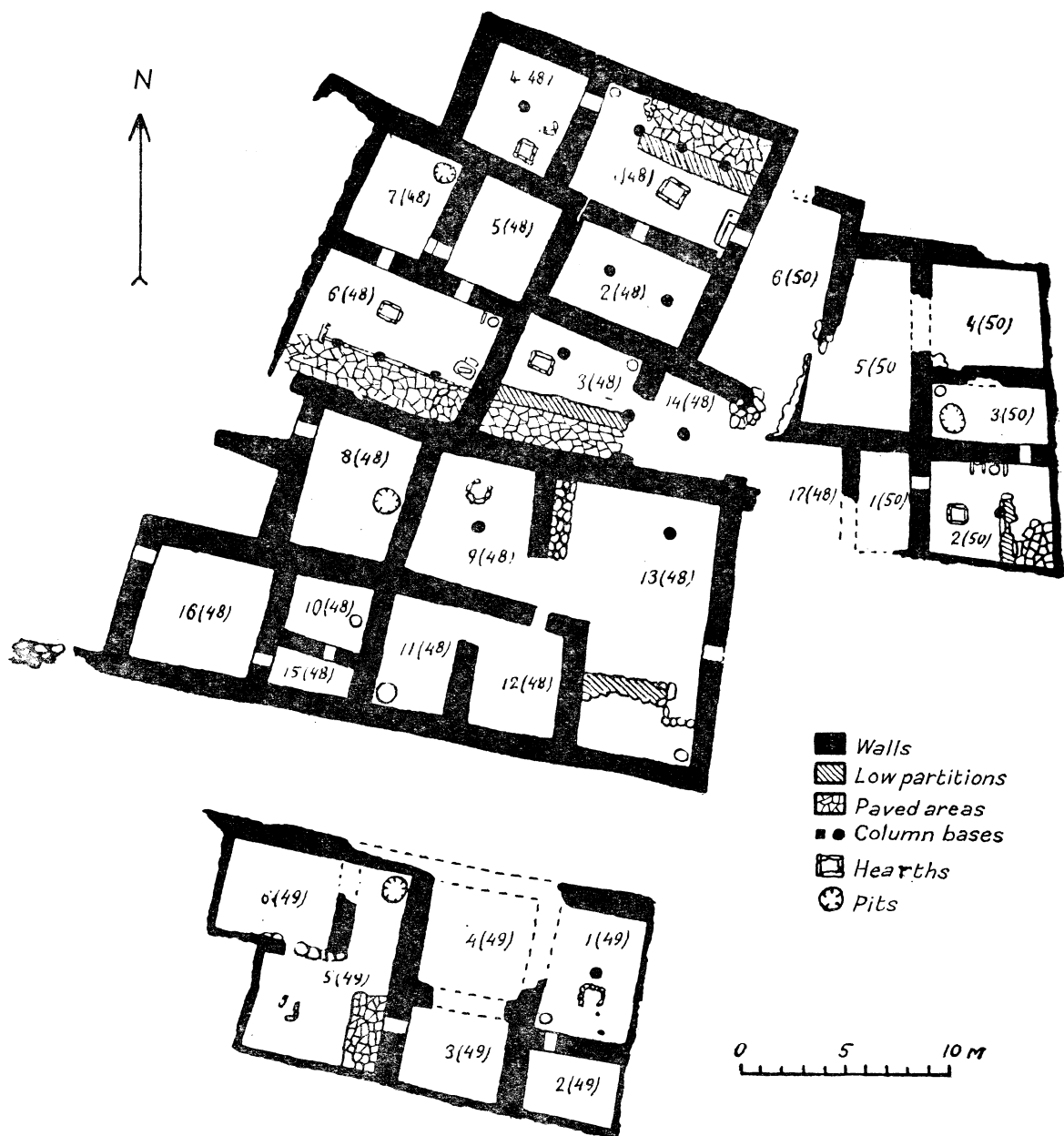
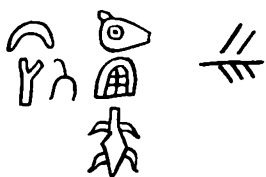


FIG. 7. Plan of part of the ancient settlement.

metres, surrounding the settlement on the south. It included a powerful tower, but was probably unfinished at the fall of the city. The excavated sector consisted of three streets of houses, built of local stone of andesite-basalt type. Entrances were lined with wood, with stone thresholds.

\* \* \*

Part III mainly describes the discoveries of 1951, 1952 and 1953, in which the excavation was continued of the central rooms of the citadel fortress. It became clear that these consisted of more than one floor, the lower floor being formed by separate units divided up into rooms which were linked by two or three doors. No main exit from the building was found in this floor, and it seems that this must have been effected from the next level (ground floor), which was reached from the basement by means of a ramp, of which traces were found in Room 30, and elsewhere. This upper floor survived only in the form of remains of walls above the two central units of the building. But fragments of wall-paintings which were found fallen into storeroom 25 indicate that the room above was a room used for state occasions. This upper floor did not, it seems, extend to the northern part of the citadel, where whole skeletons of animals were found lying directly under the collapsed roofing. The Urartians seem in building Teišebaini to have used the type of terrace usual in the ancient Near East to incorporate their household quarters and storerooms—a three-room workshop for extracting sesame oil, six storerooms



FIGS. 8, 9. Hieroglyphs incised on bronze cups.  
(Room A).



FIG. 10. Hieroglyphs on silver jug.  
(Room 36).

for wine, two for corn, etc. Up to the present, the storerooms in which precious objects such as the inscribed shields etc. were normally kept, have not been located. Such objects of this kind as have been found were clearly hidden away in the household quarters at the time of the siege.

*Room A* (6.35 m. × 6 m.), contained (a) in one heap, five spearpoints, two adzes, a sickle and a spade, all of iron; (b) elsewhere, six iron and five bronze arrowheads, of Urartian type with tang, and ten, of two- or three-bladed Scythian type with barb. This suggests to the excavators that close relations existed between the occupants of Teišebaini and the Scythians; (c) pieces of bronze scale armour, each 3 × 1.5 cm. with three holes for sewing on to a jerkin, and an oval wicker basket containing some coarse woollen stuff, and a bronze cup; (d) in the north-west corner a heap of sixteen bronze cups, badly rusted, of which seven possessed inscriptions in cuneiform and hieroglyphs, (tower with tree and lion's head) similar to those found in 1949 in storeroom 25. Three of these inscriptions were of Sarduriš II, the remainder of Rusaš I.<sup>1</sup> One smooth cup bore a group of seven hieroglyphs, another a group of three, which recur on a silver vase from Room 36 (Figs. 8-10); (e) a *phiale* of Assyrian

<sup>1</sup> m *Ru-sa-a-i-ni-e bi-tu-ri-is-bu-si-e.*

type, a bronze beaker with double bottom, bearing an incised ornament; (f) a bronze jug, of a shape common in red clayware; (g) three types of pottery: black polished cups, a pot with three bands of ornament, and a large tall vase with three marks often met at Karmir Blur on the handles of red polished jugs; (h) remains of a bronze door loop, similar to that found previously, bearing the name of Teišebaini<sup>1</sup>; (i) the remains of a shield engraved with figures of lions and bulls and bearing an inscription of Sarduriš, son of Argištiš (Plate IIIa, b). Against the northern wall lay remains of a second shield, engraved with similar figures and bearing the dedication of Argištiš, the son of Menuaš, of the city of Erebuni.<sup>2</sup>

*Room B.* (5·22 m. × 6 m.) was reached from Room A. The following objects were found among fragments of sundried bricks fallen from the upper part of the walls: Scythian arrowheads, evidently those of the attackers, two bronze nails (*ziggatu*), various ornaments which included twelve large sard beads; about fifteen beads of grey glazed faience, others much damaged, of glass and sardonyx, a lignite tubular bead, another of faience, and a necklet, consisting of sixty-two cowrie shells; a broken cylinder seal with the design of a bowman, and a circular silver medallion, 3·5 cm. in diameter, engraved with a scene of a goddess enthroned under a moon and stars, before whom stands a female worshipper. The head of the goddess is overlaid with gold leaf soldered on (Fig. 11.)

*Room 5.* (10·1 m. × 6 m.) was empty.

The northern unit of the central portion of the citadel consisted of four rooms.

*Room 29.* (5·1 m. × 3 m.) was entered from Room 27. It lay between Rooms 25 and 28, which were wine cellars and housed a vast store of pottery for use in connection with them. In its eastern half lay no less than 1,036 one-handed red-polished ware jugs! They were mostly damaged, but unused, arranged in five rows. They varied in size from 13 to 31 cm. in height, but seemed to have come from a single workshop, with a capacity from .45 to 7 litres. In addition there were 55 flat bowls, one deep cup, six large jars, nine beakers and 40 lamps (Plate IIb), which had not been used. In the western half were found parts of an iron *akinakes* (Persian sword), a bronze cup, and bronze sheathing of a quiver.

*Room 30.* (11·4 m. × 7·4 m.) was entered from Room 28. A massive column of sundried brick stood in the centre of Room 30 apparently supporting a



FIG. 11. Silver medallion with gold appliqué. (Room B).

<sup>1</sup> *Karmir Blur* I, fig. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription runs *aHal-di-e e-u-ri-e i-ni a-še mAr-gi-iš-ti-še mMe-nu-a-bi-ni-še aluIr-by-ni-e-di uš-tu-ni mAr-gi-iš-ti-ni ŠARRU DAN-NU ŠARRU al-su-i-ni ŠARRU mat Bi-a-i-na-ū-e a-lu-si aluTu-uš-pa patari*. "To the god Haldi, the mighty, Argištiš, son of Menuaš, gave this shield for the city of Irbuni.

Argištiš, son of Menuaš, mighty king, great king, king of the land of Biaina, prince of the city of Tušpa." Piotrovskiy points out that a variant spelling of Irbuni is Erebuni and M.A. Israel and A. B. Morzoyan suggest this is to be identified with Erevan, at the south-east corner of which ancient remains survive, on the mound of Arin-Berd. The shield of Sarduriš bore an inscription very similar to that of Argištiš.

ramp descending from the upper floor. In the northern half of the room was found some red-polished ware, and a basalt bowl, 55 cm. in diameter, 12 cm. high. In the south-west corner a quantity of iron objects, including large pieces of rhomboid shape about 35 cm. long, with a hole in the centre, perhaps ingots<sup>1</sup>; also two lumps of bright blue colour, similar to some found in a jug in Room 28. In the southern part of the room were found a red-polished one-handled jug and a bronze dagger handle in the form of a griffin's head.

Room 31. (7.71 m. × 6.05 m.) was linked by a passage with the southern block of the central part of the citadel. A carelessly added wall on the west side reached the first floor. Near it was a large quantity of badly damaged ox, horses' and asses' bones, a red-polished one-handled jug and two bone awls.

Room 32. (7.7 m. × 5.15 m.) was blocked up with stone. In an upper level were found two copper coins of the Atabeg Kızıl-Arslan (12th century A.D.) which indicate that stonework belonged to this period, intended to make a foundation for the next level. At the lower level by the west wall lay large storage jars, all broken. To the south lay a small corridor with a ramp, in the side of which were built storerooms. Those on the right were small, square cells, five in number those on the left formed two larger rooms of rectangular shape. The former were used for storing cereals, and contained some remains of barley and oats, but one in the south-west corner, near the entrance, contained a clay bulla, which was apparently the sealing of the door. It bore impressions of a cylinder seal with a design of sphinxes and a sacred tree, an Urartian cuneiform inscription above and below, and two stampings from a stamp seal, corresponding exactly with a similar bulla found in Storeroom 25.<sup>2</sup> The storerooms on the left-hand side were empty except one, in which lay, among fragments of roof beams, the following objects, evidently fallen from the upper floor: the rim of a clay cup with a plastic head of a ram, the base of a red-polished ware dish with the impression of the stamp much used at Karmir-Blur,<sup>3</sup> a jug of local Trans-Caucasian ware decorated with impressed triangles, and a large quantity of beads, an Urartian hieroglyphic seal of steatite, a small bronze figure of a bird, a fibula, an iron sickle, a curved knife, a whetstone, part of an iron bracelet and an iron fibula.

Room 33. (14 m. × 3.55 m.) had doors set in wooden walls on the western and eastern sides. On the west side, near the door, stood seven great storage jars, all except one broken by the falling roof. The surviving one was decorated with sunken rectangles and semi-circles, and on its rim bore a hieroglyphic inscription of an unknown type. Nearby lay pieces of sulphur, used for smoking jars. On the ground lay corn, barley and chick-pea, and parts of a badly preserved shield, bearing an inscription of Sarduriš.

<sup>1</sup> Compare similar objects found at Khorsabad, V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (1867) III, pl. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Above p. 4. The text reads: *I-ni KUNUKKU m* . . . . BITU . . . . *mRu-sa-bi*. "This seal . . . house,

son of Rusaš," i.e. probably Sarduriš, son of Rusaš. c. 645-625 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Piotrovsky, *Urartu*, fig. 44, left.

*Room 34.* (25·3 m × 4·1 m.). The upper level contained mediaeval remains; below were badly damaged iron tools and 170 iron net-weights, arranged on a string, pieces of which remained. In the centre, remains of jars containing oats, dried fruits, plums, grape, and apple pips. In the southern part was a large corn quern, covered with a stone, near which lay clay jars, a trefoil cup, large iron pitch-forks, 62 cm. long, two iron spades, an iron shovel 48 cm. long with long hooked handle, and a faience scaraboid, with the figure of a bull. Against the west wall lay a bronze shield, bearing an inscription of Argištiš, son of Menuaš, ornamented with figures of lions and bulls, and an iron

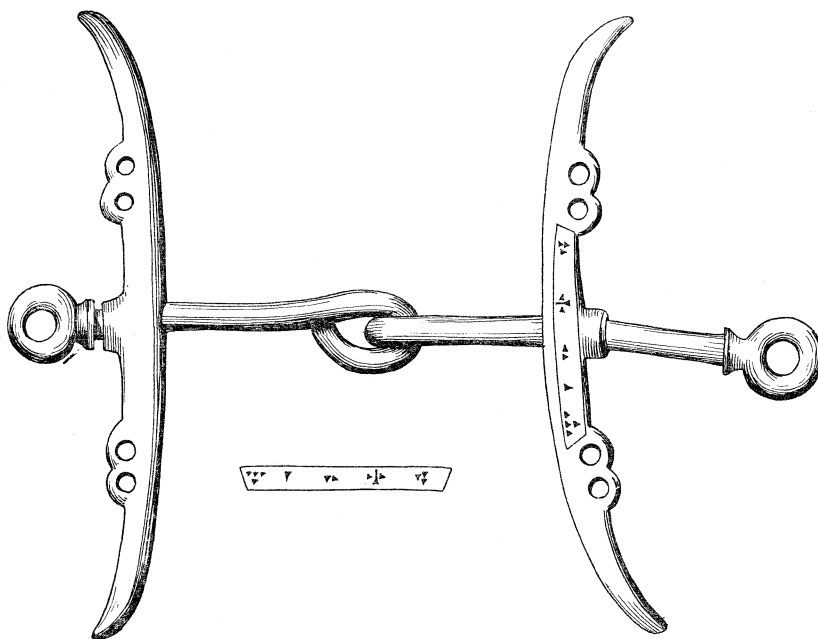


FIG. 12. Bronze horse-bit with inscription of Menuaš. (Room 36).

sword with a bronze handle of trans-Caucasian type. They were apparently originally covered with earth, and half way up the wall was a cross in red paint, presumably to mark their hiding place.

*Room 35.* (25·3 m. × 3 m.) had two doors in the northern half. It was not fully excavated; it contained some bronze, three-winged, barbed arrowheads of Scythian type, an iron arrowhead with tang, preserving remains of the wooden shaft, two small clay pots with broad base, and a horse's skull.

*Room 36.* (22·05m. × 4·07 m.) was a passage with six doors linking two blocks of the citadel. In its centre was a heap of objects covered with oats and twigs, which had caused some damage by burning. At the side of the heap were two bronze shields, bearing inscriptions of Argištiš, son of Menuaš.

The heap consisted of the following iron objects: a spearhead, three sickles, five adzes, ten arrowheads, a carpenter's saw, 37 cm. long, its handle attached



with nails. It also contained the following bronze objects: sixteen arrowheads of Urartian type, one bearing an inscription of Argištiš I,<sup>1</sup> and five arrowheads of Scythian type, a small haematite mace (5.5 cm. in diameter) of flat sugar-loaf shape, like that carried by the statuette of the god Teišeba, twenty whetstones, some with bronze rings, a set of bronze jugs, bronze pieces of horse trappings, with inscriptions of Menuaš viz. two horse-bits, one destroyed, inscribed with the name of Menuaš (Fig. 12)<sup>2</sup>, a pair of horse's nose-guards—one also inscribed with the name of Menuaš (Fig. 13); some plates with and without inscriptions and decoration, four bells, 11 cm. high, one with an iron clapper<sup>3</sup>; six bronze quivers, five being full of well preserved arrows of wood and reed with iron heads, one containing bronze-headed arrows, of which three were inscribed

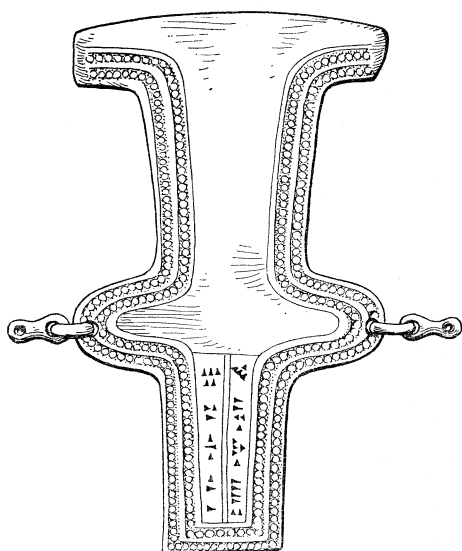


FIG. 13. Bronze horse's nose-guard, with inscription of Menuaš. (Room 36).

with a name, probably that of Sarduriš. Under the quivers was a basket, containing two rods of bone, richly carved with an ornament of perhaps Scythian type. The wood stays of the basket were decorated with small carved heads of lions in horn, of which only one survived. Near the quivers lay fragments of bronze scale-armour (Fig. 14), and four buttons, one of which was inscribed with the name of Argištiš I.<sup>4</sup> The scales were of nine different types, and a reconstruction by V. Sorokin showing their use, is published. Under them were found remains of a parade cloak with woven decoration and small bronze discs, of the weaving of which a detailed description is given, by A. S. Verskovskaya. A vast collection of beads, seals (Fig. 15) and amulets, a silver medallion of disc shape with the figure of an enthroned deity similar to that from

Room B, (Fig. 16) a gold earring, a small gold button, a silver pin, surmounted by the figure of two lions and a third creature (similar to one found near Armavir, now in the Historical Museum of the Armenian Academy of Science), a bone pin, small bronze fibulae and bracelets, and a segment of a gold disc-shaped bar, partly cut up. These precious objects had apparently been shared out between several people. Nearby was a bronze helmet completely collapsed, decorated with

<sup>1</sup> The text reads: *ḫal-di-e| Ar-gi-iš-te BA.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ša mMe-nu-a.*

<sup>3</sup> As in the Kazbek Treasure discovered by G. F. Govedjishvili, cf. also the Elizavetskaya Kurgan

excavated by I. I. Vesselovsky in 1913, *O.A.K.* 1913-15, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription reads: *ḫal-di-e e-ū-ri-e|i-ni kar-ka-ra-ni mAr-giš-ti-še NIG. BA* and on the reverse *ša Ar-gi-iš-ti.*

figures of gods and sacred trees, war chariots and riders; also a silver one-handed jug 25 cm. high, with three hieroglyphs on the neck (Fig. 10), similar to those on the cups from Room A, around which lay a heap of small beads, some small clay vases, and other pots.

Room 37. (25·3 m.  $\times$  4·63 m.) was encumbered with fallen hewn basalt blocks which had fallen from a cornice on the upper wall of the citadel. In its northern part was a water-channel which continued into Rooms 38 and 39;

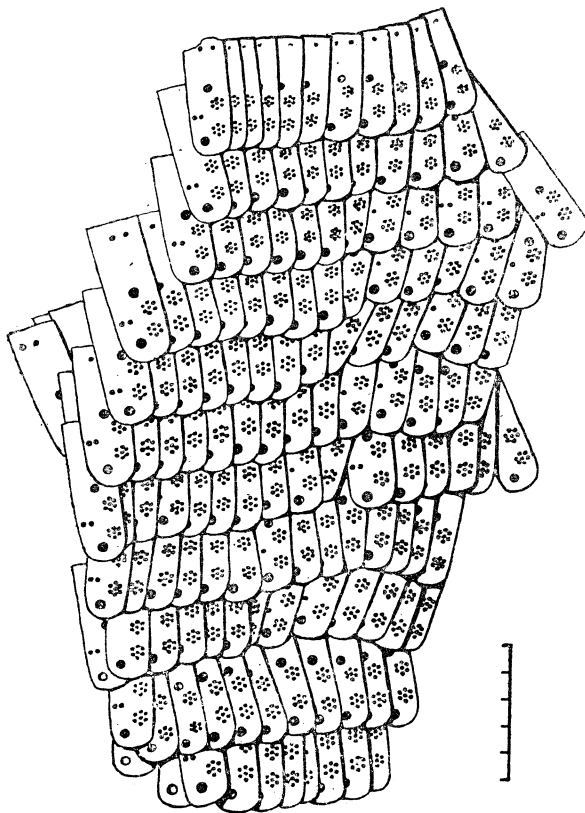


FIG. 14. Part of a shirt of bronze scale-armor. (Room 36).

in its southern part lay a heap of damaged iron objects: four curved knives, two adzes, and a massive axe. In another pile were bronze objects: a pot containing small bars of copper, a bronze bar, a vase handle of Caucasian type, ornamented with an animal's head with raised ear.<sup>1</sup> Nearby, a bronze helmet with signs in relief like those on the helmet from Room 24,<sup>2</sup> inscribed with the name of Argištiš, son of Menuaš.

Room 38. (25·3 m.  $\times$  3·55 m.) was a long passage having two doors, one in the north wall and the other in the south-west corner. In the latter was a

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Karmir Blur* I, p. 92, fig. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* I, fig. 38.

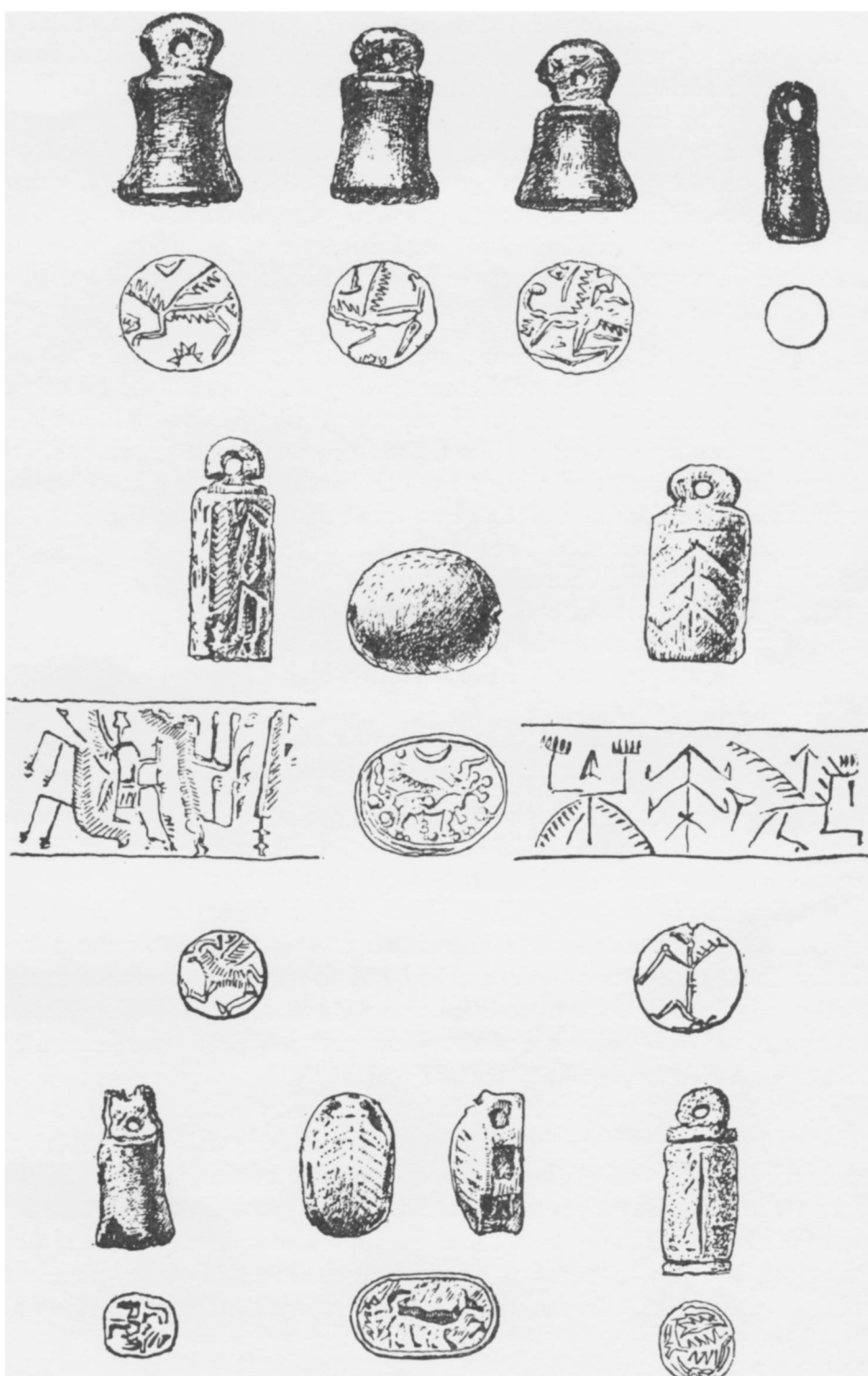


FIG. 15. Seals of various types. (Mostly from Room 36).

storage jar marked in hieroglyphs “six *akarki*”. In the upper level of the room were many objects which had fallen down from the upper floor: bronze sheets, a cup, bracelets, a fibula, sardonyx beads, a curved iron knife, a clay handleless jug, 159 iron scale armour plates, mostly  $3 \times 1.8$  cm., an *akinakes* of Scythian type, a small gold earring, ornamented with appliqué-twisted wire, fragments of bronze plates bearing a decoration representing a lion’s mane, perhaps from the neck of a helmet; red-polished jugs and cups, a storage jar for corn, and a black pot with handles. In the centre of the room was a fine bronze shield decorated with figures of lions and bulls and inscribed with the name of Sarduriš II.

Room 39. (13.85 m.  $\times$  4.1 m.) was a store room for pottery which stood in the northern half. Near a channel running diagonally across the room were 57 red-polished, one-handled jugs of sugar-loaf shape, 102 flat bowls, 16 beakers, three lamps, two censers, like those from storerooms 25 and 28,<sup>1</sup> two tall storage jars for corn, and a large smooth handleless pot; part of a sitting figure in faience, the neck of a black glass vase ornamented with white zigzag, horizontal lines and circles (3.5 cm. high); fragments of trans-Caucasian clay pots, and bronze two-winged Scythian arrowheads. Here also were found remains of a male skeleton showing signs of burning, including the right upper part of the skull in which some brains survived.

In this part of the citadel other skeletons survived, indicating that the citadel was here stormed and entered.

Room 40. (10.78 m.  $\times$  4.14 m.) was a wine store having two corn bins in the west side. The room contained twelve wine jars, sunk in the ground in three rows along the length of the room (Plate IV). Six of them bore hieroglyphic marks indicating quantities from 5 *akarki* and 1 *terusi*, to 3 *akarki* and 5 *terusi*. One in the north-east corner was unmarked, and five were too smashed to show any evidence. Each held about 20 litres, and were in use at the time of destruction. The remains of wine are undergoing examination in the Institute of Viticulture of the Armenian Ministry of Food.

In Jar No. 8 was a bronze bracelet: in jars No. 17–19 in the north part of the room pieces of gold leaf covering the figure of a lion’s head. Plates were also found bearing figures of griffins. No explanation of the presence of these gold objects in the wine tuns is available, but it is suggested that they may have been sacrificial gifts. Nearby were some clay jugs with handles, a beaker, a cup, a corn vessel, bits of a lamp and parts of burnt skeletons of those killed in the storming of the citadel. In the upper parts of two jars, were parts of a single



FIG. 16. Silvermedallion. (Room 36).

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 7.

skeleton fallen in from above. In the upper level of the room were plates of iron scale armour.

In 1954 three more wine cellars, (Rooms 41, 43 and 44), were excavated, adjacent to Room 40. The first of these contained forty-five wine jars, the second thirty-two, the third probably thirty. These jars bore signs in hieroglyphs and cuneiform. In Room 41 were many bronze horse ornaments, with inscriptions of Argištiš I and Sarduriš II, and some great bronze jars. Room 43 contained burnt skeletal remains of men who died in the storming of the city, sardonyx beads, a gold bracelet and horn buckles in the form of birds' heads.

\* \* \*

Once more, it is hardly necessary to emphasize the interest and importance of these careful and remarkably successful excavations, the only scientifically controlled excavations hitherto conducted within the frontiers of ancient Urartu, which have produced such a wealth of new material.

The Urartian Cemetery at Igdyr

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## THE URARTIAN CEMETERY AT IGDYR

By R. D. BARNETT

IN 1943 THE Academy of Sciences of the Georgian S.S.R. published at Tiflis, as Part XIII.B of the *Bulletin of the Georgian Government Museums*, a book of 171 pages by the late B. A. Kuftin (1892–1953), entitled *Urartskii "kolymbarii" u podoshvy Ararata i Kuro-Araskii Éneolit* [An Urartian "Columbarium" on the slopes of Ararat and the Copper Age of the Kur-Araxes basin]. The *terminus technicus* "columbarium" (Latin = a pigeon-cot) is translated in German as "Urnenhalle". More appropriate here would be to call it an "Urn-field" but "columbarium" is retained here as having no adequate English translation. In the original the Russian text is followed by a version in Georgian and a very brief English summary. This book in fact contains two essays, the first dealing with the "columbarium", the second with the Copper Age remains under the lava to the south of the "columbarium", and called the "Clay Citadel". We are here only concerned with the first.

Not surprisingly, in view of the date of publication, the appearance of the book passed unnoticed by the Western archaeologists. Yet the fact that such a study should appear at all at the height of the Russo-German conflict was sufficiently remarkable. But the edition was extremely small (200 copies) and the book is now certainly a bibliographical rarity. Fortunately a copy of it reached the library of the late Professor Gordon Childe and, occasionally quoted by him and others, was bequeathed by him to the Institute of Archaeology, and it is from his copy that, with the permission of the Librarian and with the considerable aid of Professor T. Sulimirski, Miss Joan du Plat Taylor and Mr. W. Watson, I have been able to make available the following summary of the first part of that work. The excavation of the burial ground of Urartians of ordinary class, which is recorded in so accurate and exemplary a fashion remains still of great importance, since together with the remarkable discoveries of royal or upper class burials at Altın Tepe it gives us a fairly complete picture of Urartian burial customs, while Kuftin's able discussions on the cemetery itself formed a milestone in Transcaucasian chronology. It seemed therefore imperative to make available to Western scholars the fruits of these departed scholars' studies. In view of newer discoveries since the author wrote, I have added occasional comments of my own.

\* \* \*

In 1914, archaeological remains, excellently excavated the previous year by P. F. Petrov at Igdyr on the southern slopes of Mount Ararat,<sup>1</sup> were presented to the Museum of Georgia. The site lay 8 versts from Igdyr, in the village of Malaklyu,<sup>2</sup> on the road to Markar, on the northern end of a small rocky ridge

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<sup>1</sup> *Otchet po Kavkazomy Muzeyu za 1914 god*, Tiflis, 1917, p. 21. Petrov is described as having been a topographer, with no specialist training in archaeology: but it is obvious from his drawings, reproduced by Kuftin (Figs. 1–11 here), that he was far more than this, being both a skilled draughtsman and excavator. The annotations on the drawings are Petrov's (here translated).

<sup>2</sup> [The site is described below sometimes as Igdyr, sometimes as Malaklyu.—R.D.B.]

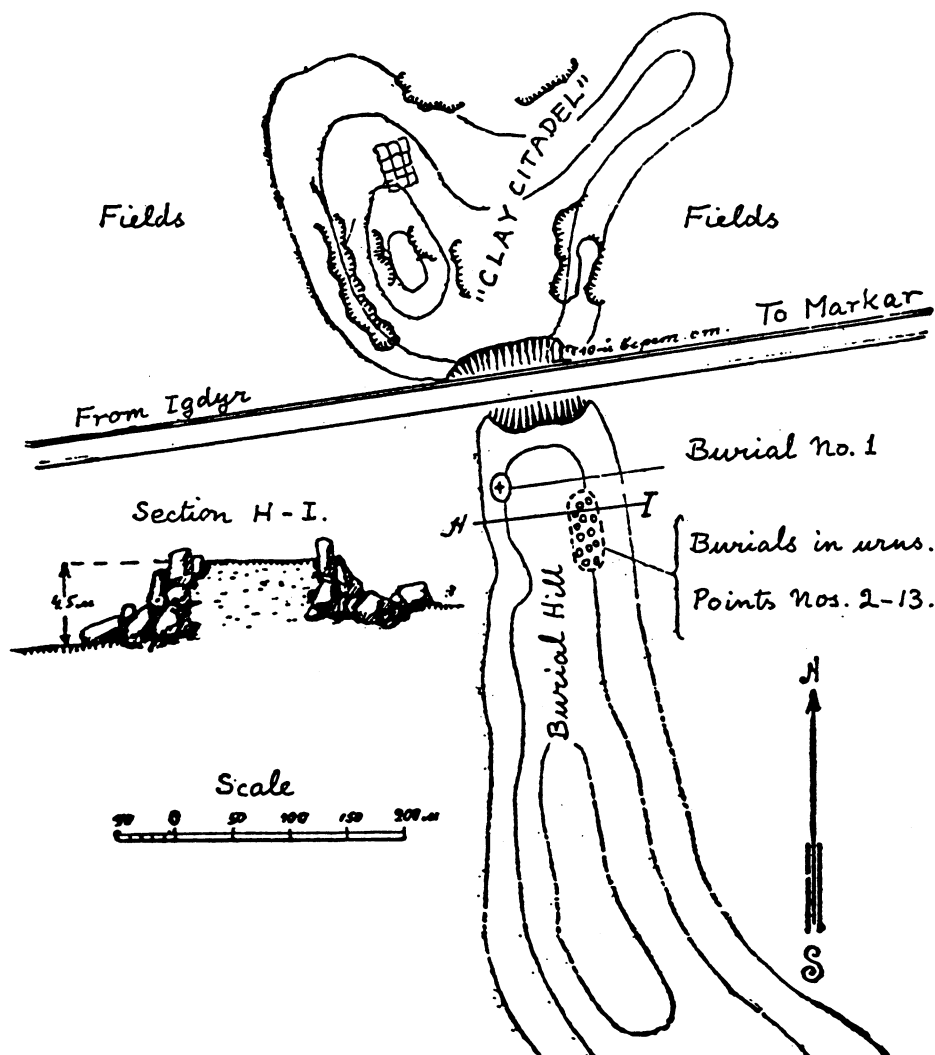


FIG. 1. Sketch Plan of Burial Hill, Igdyr.

about 2.5 m. high, evidently originally the end of a lava stream (Fig. 1). The cemetery lay on the eastern side of the ridge south of the road, marked on plan, Points 2-13.

### 1. THE GRAVES

Grave No. 1 lay on the western side of the ridge. It was an inhumation burial, all others on the east being cremations in clay urns placed in rock crevices and covered with larger stones. Grave-goods consisted of iron knives, spear- and arrow-heads, copper vessels and ornaments, placed in separate heaps beside the urns. All urns were close to each other, and it is consequently not always clear to which burial these goods belonged. To avoid controversy the excavator used the word "point", which does not denote the burials but refers to groups of grave-goods and/or urns which were obviously contemporary.



*Point 1* (Figs. 2-3)

An inhumation burial of a female with two (?) children (Figs. 2, 3), lying on the western edge in a narrow cleft. It contained a dark pot and a narrow-necked jug, hidden under small stones (Nos. 47, 48). On the same level, 50 cm. further away, lay remains of a headless human skeleton with two bronze armlets (Nos. 29, 30). The bones were disturbed, and whether the skeleton was crouched or extended was not established. Nearby lay bones of the children, near which bronze and iron bracelets were found (Nos. 32, 33, 35-7). The earth near the skulls contained ninety beads of sardonyx, agate, paste, glass and bronze) (Nos. 22, 24,

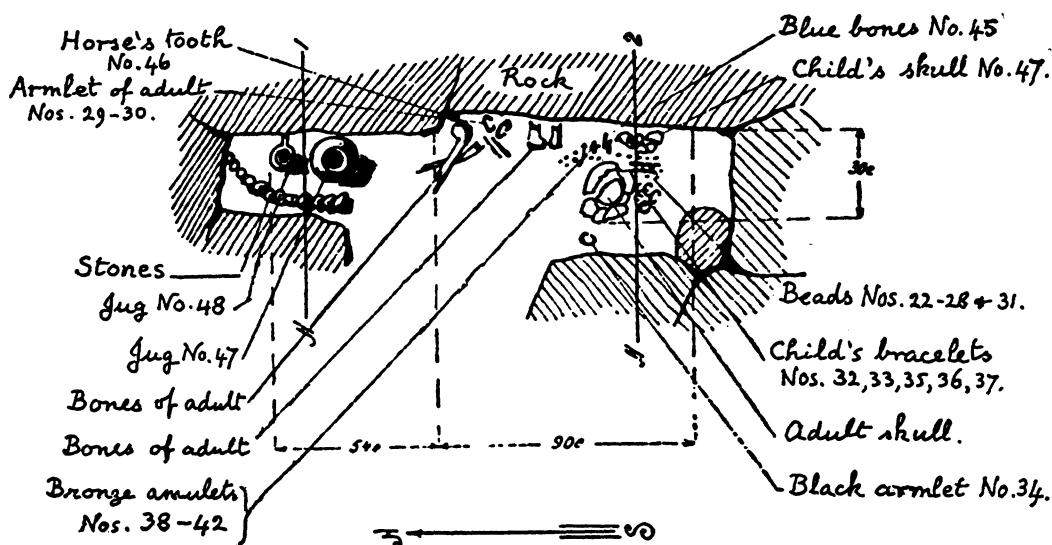


FIG. 2. Point 1 (inhumation).

26-8, 31), fragments of two bronze pins (Nos. 39-40; Fig. 32, 1, 2), a cowrie shell (No. 25) and a round stone pendant [stamp-seal?] engraved on both sides with a bird (No. 23; Fig. 39, 3, 5).

*Point 2* (Fig. 4)

On the eastern end of the ridge, on the upper plateau. Under a stone the following were found heaped: two bronze armlets (Nos. 49, 51), two small bronze tubes (50), fragments of a bronze belt (No. 50) similar to that from Points 10-11 (Figs. 30 and 31) and a dark agate bead (53).

*Points 3 and 4* (Figs. 5, 6)

At a depth of 40-45 cm. three crushed urns full of ashes (Nos. 55, 57, 82) covered with clay saucers (Nos. 56, 59, 83), and one covered with an additional copper saucer (No. 58); under the latter urn, 12 cm. lower, lay three bronze armlets<sup>3</sup> with lion's-head terminals (Nos. 71-3). Near the urn lay an iron knife (78), two bronze armlets (74, 75), fragments of a third one and sherds of a clay saucer. Close to the second, smaller urn, and partly under it, were an iron spear-head

<sup>3</sup> [These lion-headed armlets are described in the Russian as "bracelets". I have below, p. 180, n. 43, shown reason from Assyrian analogies for substituting the term "armlet" as they were apparently worn on the upper arm.—R.D.B.]

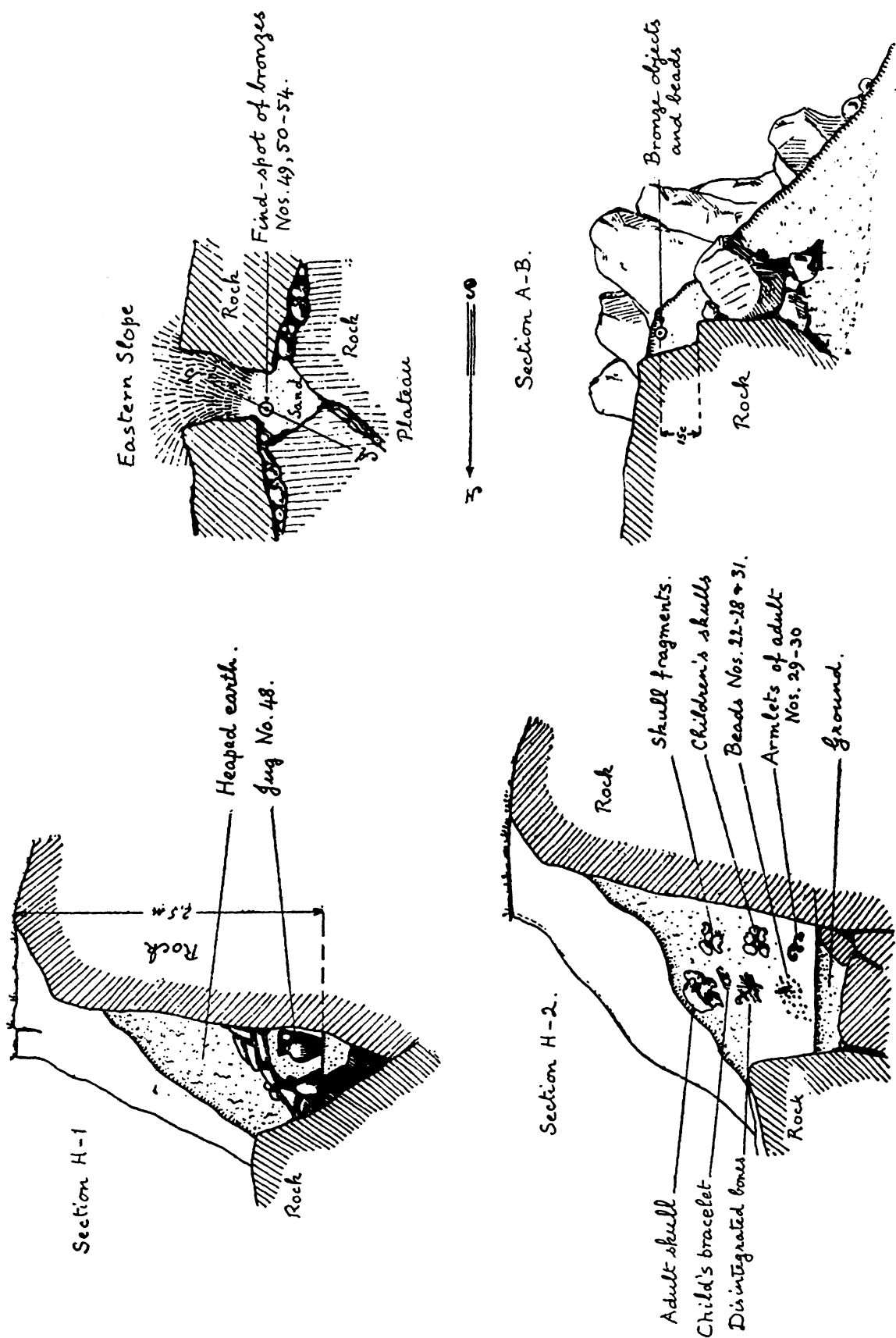


FIG. 3. Sections through Burial No. 1 at H 1 and 2.

FIG. 4. Find-spot of bronzes and beads, Point 2.

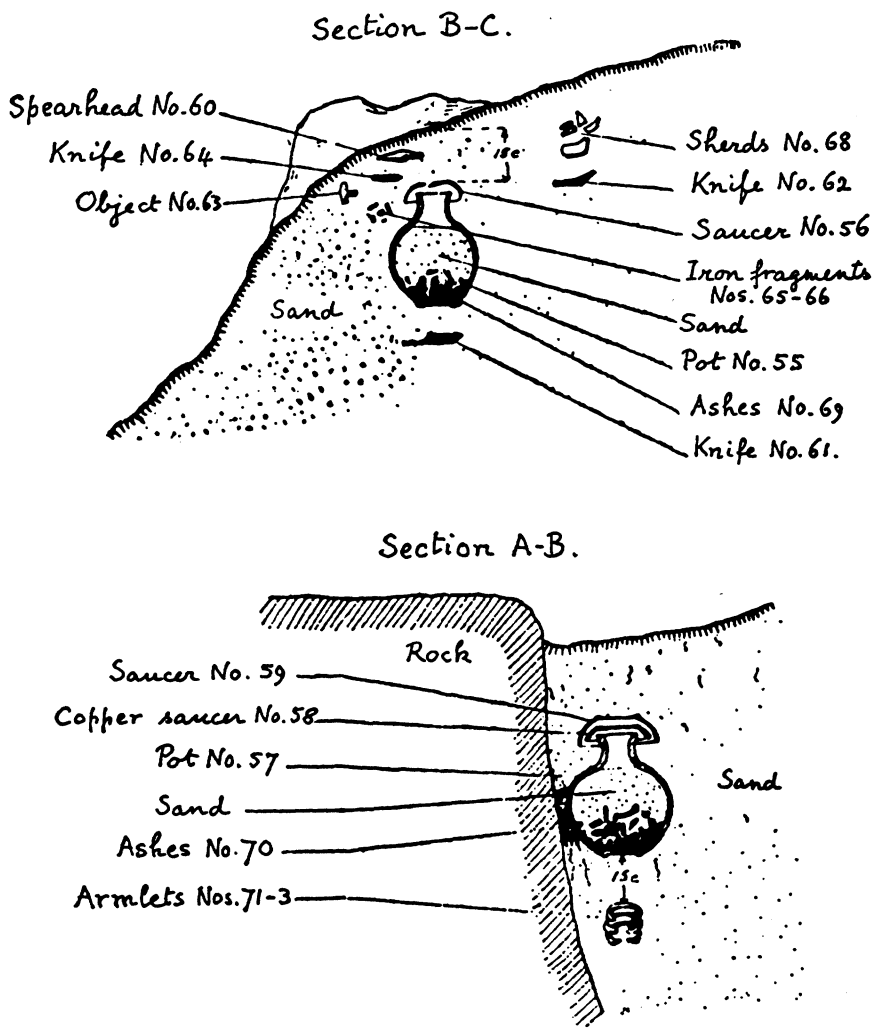


FIG. 5. Sections at B-C and A-B through Points 3 and 4, showing positions of urns.

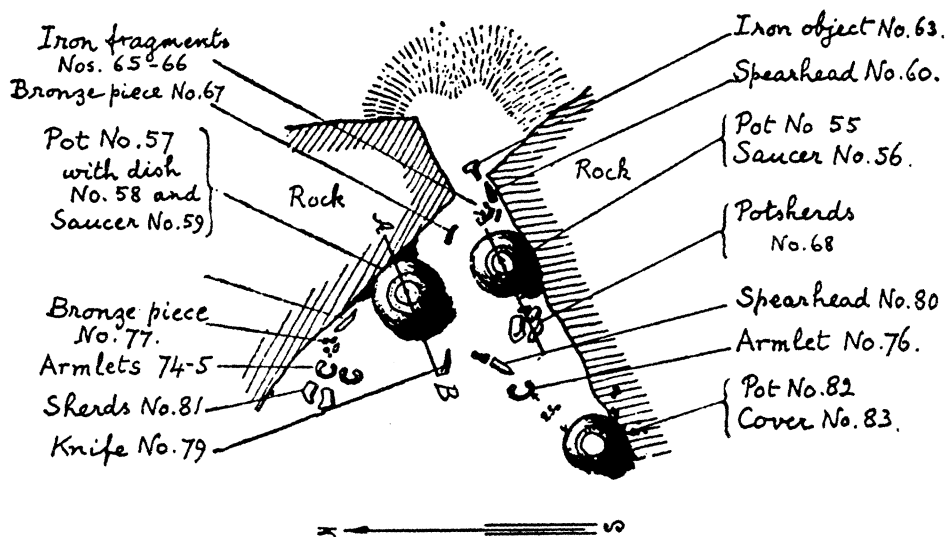
broken in two (60), fragments of knives (61-4), an iron axe (?) (65), two iron pin-heads damaged by fire (63, 66), etc. Between the two urns above and the third one lay a bronze armlet (76), and under the remains of a fifth urn (68), fragments of an iron spear-head (80) and of two iron knives (61, 79).

#### Point 5 (Figs. 6, 7)

On the inner edge of the eastern part of the ridge five urns were found in two groups. One of these, in a narrow cleft, consisted of three urns covered with saucers (87-9) under which lay a burnt chalcedony bead (98), an obsidian chip and a clay stamp-cylinder<sup>4</sup> with a figure of griffin (Figs. 40 : 1 ; 39 : 1, 4). The second group, of two urns (84-6), was also covered with saucers. Under one of these, 30 cm. under the base, lay two bronze armlets with lion's-head terminals (90-1) ; under the other, 15 cm. deeper, lay iron weapons : a broad sword (93),

<sup>4</sup> [I have described these typically Urartian seals, a cross between cylinder-seals and stamp seals (as I have elsewhere), as "stamp-cylinders". The term used in the Russian text is "columnar seal".—R.D.B.]

## Points 3 and 4



## Point 5

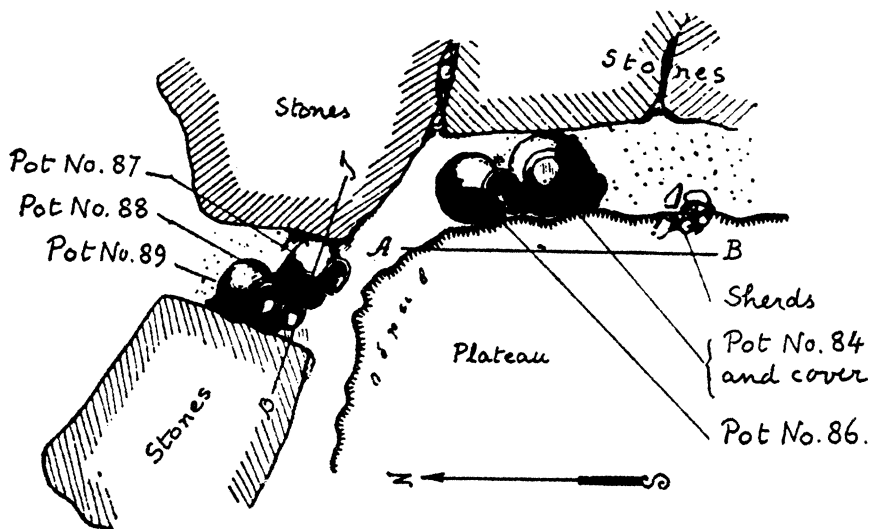


FIG. 6. Position of cremation urns and assemblage in Points 3, 4 and 5.

spear-heads, eleven arrow-heads and four objects like mace-heads (?) (Nos. 94-7, Fig. 38, 2), all originally covered with a copper basin.

## Point 6

A fragment of an urn found in a thin layer of earth, a fragment of a bronze vessel (99) and iron fragments.

## Point 7

On the rock, at a depth of 10-12 cm., a crushed red ware saucer covering a red urn with cremation (Fig. 12, 2, No. 105). Near them was a dark clay pot (104) with food remains (Fig. 21, 8), a fragment of an iron knife and a spear-head broken in two.

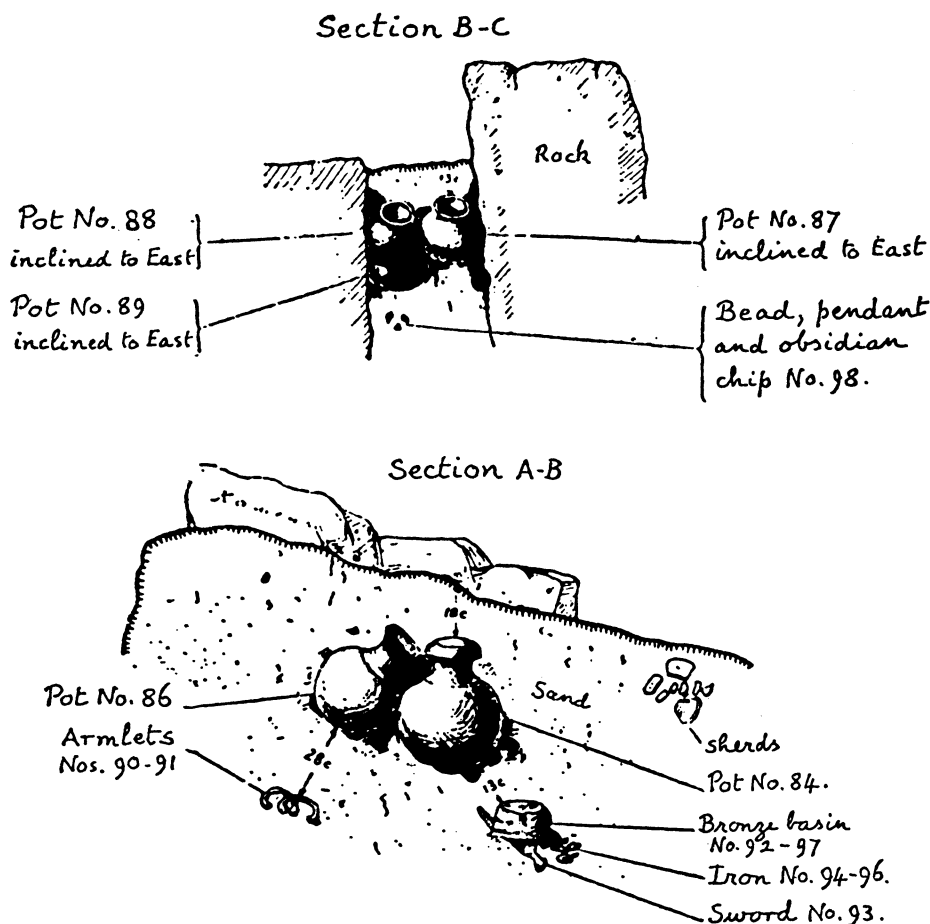


FIG. 7. Sections at BC and AB of Point 5, showing positions of finds.

#### *Point 8*

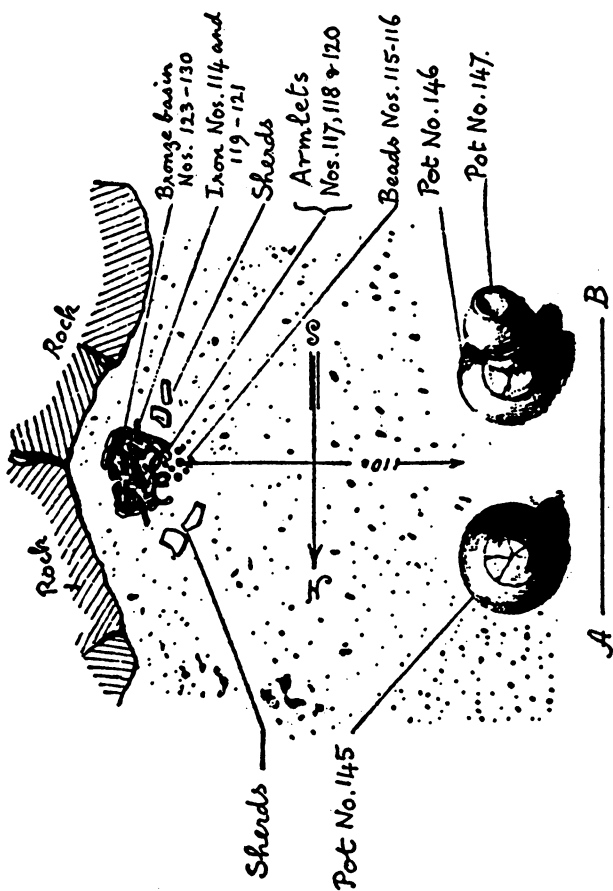
A destroyed grave : a sherd of an urn, four iron arrow-points (109), bits of iron, fragments of a bronze cup with a convex ribbed body (108, Fig. 24, 1).

#### *Point 9 (Fig. 8)*

On the rock lay what was apparently a child's burial : a red miniature urn (111) with cremation, covered by a small handled cup (112 ; Fig. 20, 7) with the spout broken off [i.e. a feeding cup—R.D.B.].

#### *Points 10 and 12 (Fig. 9)*

On the edge of the inner plateau, at a depth of 80–90 cm., two entire urns (Fig. 21, 6, 7), both covered with saucers ; above the two urns, near the surface, lay upside down two grey clay vessels (147, 156) ; at a distance of 1 m. from the urns, on the same level, on the rock, several grave-goods including a decorated clay vessel damaged by fire. The grave-goods (Nos. 114–121, 125–9) were all damaged by fire and rusted, and consisted of a large basin of copper sheet on an iron frame ; a bronze cup with a ribbed body, similar to that from Point 8 (Fig. 24, 1) ; a bronze jug with two-eared handle (Fig. 24, 2) ; an iron pan from a pair of scales (?), with remains of three chains ; fragments of a bronze belt (123)



Section AB.

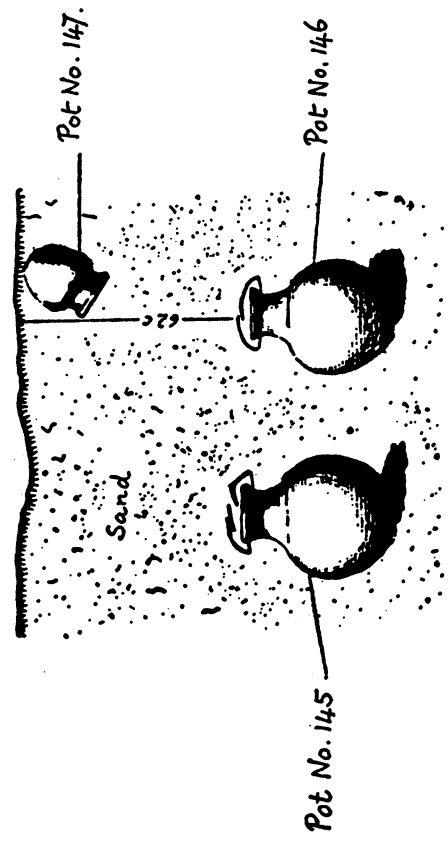
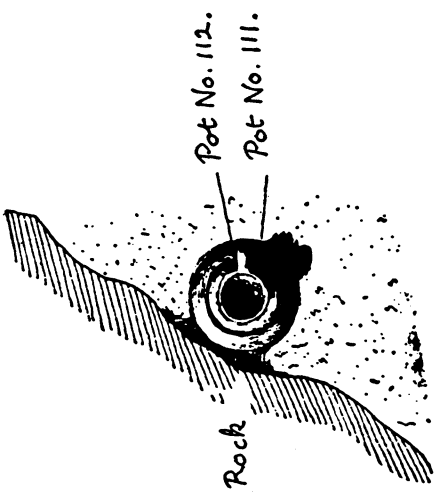


FIG. 9. Points 10 and 12. Plan and section at AB.



Position of pots Nos. 112 and 111.

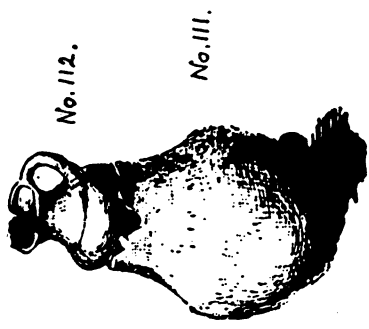


FIG. 8. Child's burial in Point 9.

parts of the same specimen mentioned below (No. 141), ten bronze armlets with lion's-head terminals (118), bronze tweezers (117), four bronze conical pendants (Fig. 33), two thin-walled conical bronze pendants and a heap of beads of glass, agate and bronze, among which was a fine stamp-cylinder (Fig. 39, 2, 6). There was also a small sherd of a red ware urn with unusual gaufré surface (Fig. 20, 5).

*Points 11 and 13 (Figs. 10, 11)*

A partial continuation of the last, some of the potsherds and also parts of the bronze belt (141) found with a crushed urn (133) being in common; an iron knife (142) and a bead of glass. Along the same side of the rock were found: a well-preserved red-ware urn decorated with triangles (131), which stood on a saucer (132) and was tightly covered with potsherds (Fig. 11). Near it lay three bronze armlets with lion's heads (139-40), burned beads (157) and battered bronze bowl with convex ribbed body (135). Eighty to 90 cm. further were two crushed urns, one a miniature urn (149) from a child's burial in which were found beads (152, 153), the second being of an unusual shape (148), together with an iron knife (150), surrounded by stones at a depth of 70-80 cm.

In the area of Points 10-13, two iron knives (158), two bones of wild sheep, two sherds of red clay vessels; a double saucer and a pedestal saucer of the same make as the urns, but of a different shape (Fig. 20 : 9-10, 6).

*Point 14*

At a distance of 1 m. from the rock; contained only a crushed red clay bowl (159).

Sporadic finds by natives on the hill include two red urns (Nos. 1, 16) of usual type but better decorated than usual with triangles; bronze lion-head armlets (3, 4, 7-12, 17), fragments of iron knives and spear-heads, the bottom of a cup (21) and a silver denarius of Antoninus Pius.

The material from the cremation cemetery was assigned by Petrov, on the strength of the coin, to the Roman period. However, the beads and pottery raised doubts as to the rightness of such a date, and Kuftin dated it to the end of the first quarter of the first millennium B.C., i.e. the period of Urartian expansion in the Southern Caucasus—on the following grounds : <sup>5</sup>

(1) The remains of a bronze jug with two-eared handle from Point 10 are exactly like that from the hoard from Lechkhum.<sup>6</sup> This consisted of a typical group of finely decorated Koban axes placed in a bronze situla and fragments of a bronze cup with a ribbed body similar to that from Toprak-Kale bearing hieroglyphic signs.<sup>7</sup>

(2) Three seals, found [in Points 1, 5, 10-12] among the beads and pendants, one being block-shaped,<sup>8</sup> two being stamp-cylinders, were of a type unknown at the date of writing in the published material; they have zoomorphic designs, one of which coincides completely in reverse with the impression on a clay tablet from Toprak Kale.<sup>9</sup>

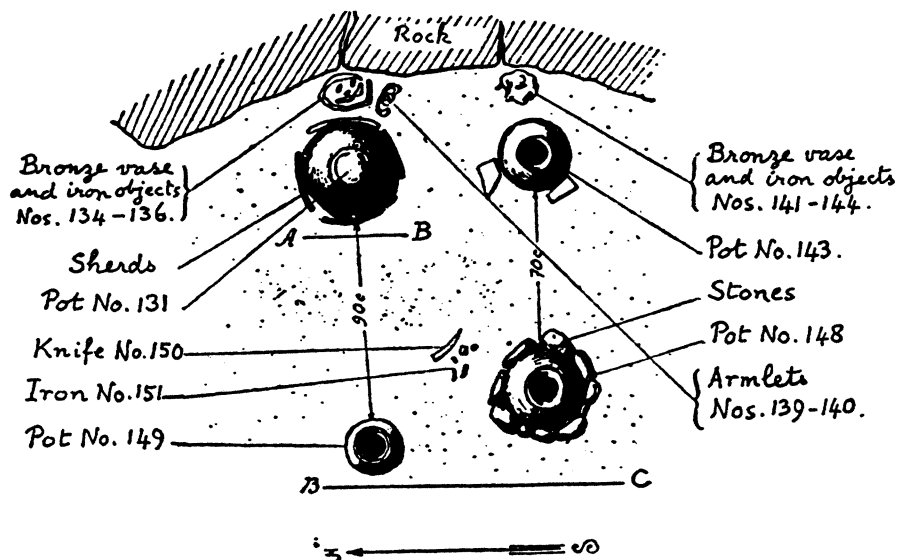
<sup>5</sup> [Comparison with the material from Altin Tepe (Barnett and Gökce, *Anatolian Studies* III, 1953, and Özgüç, *Belleten* XXV, 1961) shows that a date about 650 B.C. is more likely.—R.D.B.]

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 172.

<sup>7</sup> [This apparently refers to the bowl, Lehmann-Haupt, 'Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens,' *Abh. d. k. Gesell. Wiss. zu Göttingen, ph. hist. kl., N.F.*, Bd. IX, 1907, Fig. 61.—R.D.B.]

<sup>8</sup> [Sic. It apparently refers to the circular stamp-seal from Point 1.—R.D.B.]

<sup>9</sup> [This apparently refers to one of the tablets, Lehmann-Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 105.—R.D.B.]



Section BC.

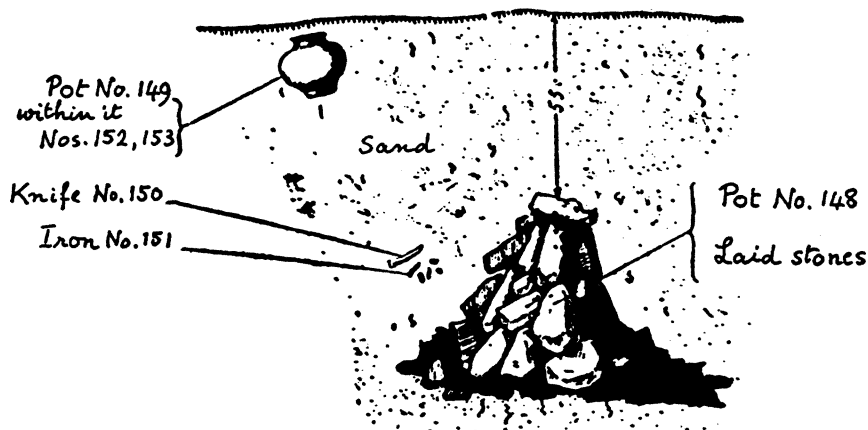


FIG. 10. Points 11 and 13. Plan and section through BC.

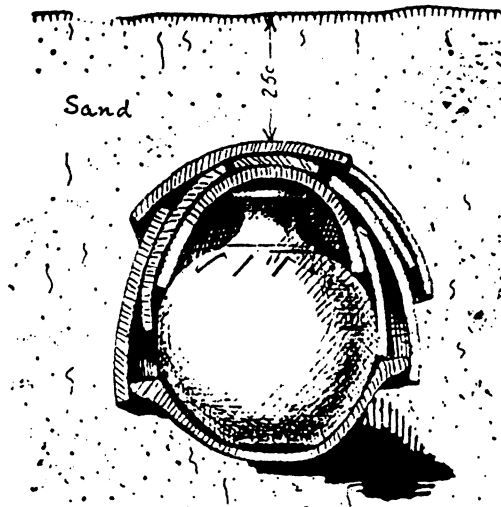


FIG. 11. Urn No. 131, packed round with potsherds, from Points 11-13.



(3) The pottery with red burnished slip is similar to that from Toprak Kale and also to that identified by Kuftin as coming from the Urartian layer in the material excavated in 1879 at Armavir-Blur by A. S. Uvarov, P. S. Uvarova and A. D. Eritsov,<sup>10</sup> though unrecognised by them.

The character of this cemetery, so unusual in Southern Caucasus at this date, shows clearly that it was left by an intrusive population, possibly an Urartian military garrison. For this interpretation speak the seals of Urartian type found in the graves which are of a kind not found hitherto in South Caucasian graves of this period.

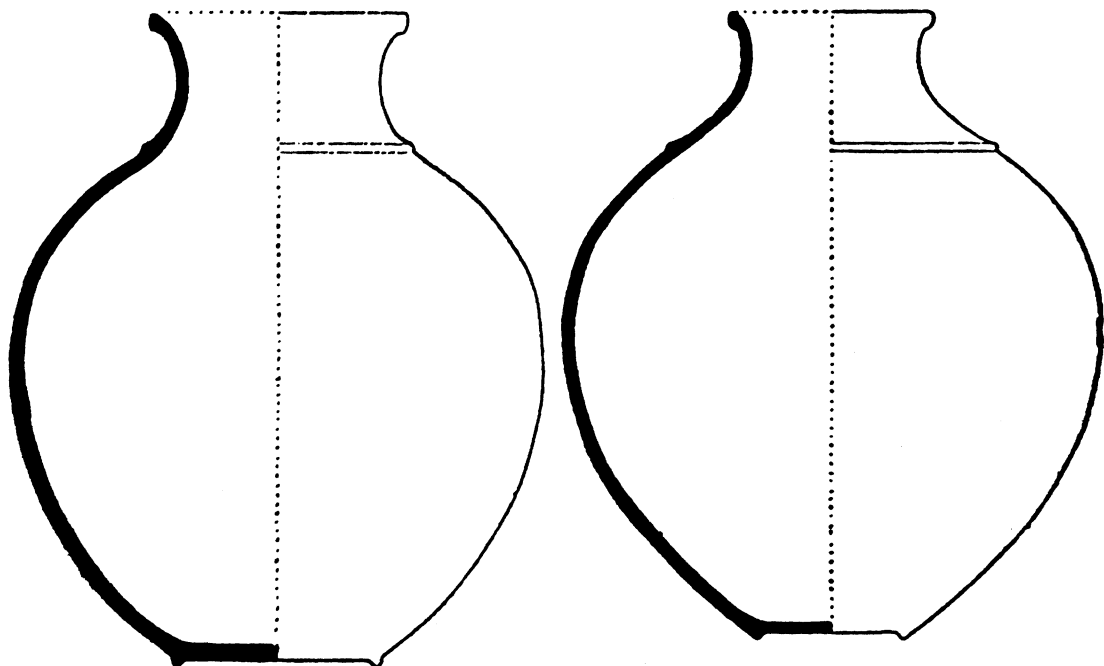


FIG. 12. Red-polished-ware urn, Nos. 57 and 105. 1 : 4.

## 2. ANALYSIS OF THE "COLUMBARIUM" MATERIAL AND COMPARISON WITH CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS

### I. Pottery

This consisted of two main types : one made of red clay with a red polished slip, and a dark ware of a simple kind. The red ware included two main types of vessels : (a) a handleless hydria with spherical body, a neck offset from the body (Fig. 12), and (b) bowls with small concave base (Figs. 15, 16), or a little base ring. They were all made by expert potters, being well fired, of light pink clay, with a red slip outside and on the upper part inside, giving a carefully burnished surface. The saucers have a red wash, burnished on both sides.

(a) Handleless hydriae (Fig. 21, 2-7) of two sizes, the larger 30-32 cm. high, maximum diameter 27-29 cm., and the smaller of the same proportions (No. 16) or with a wider mouth (Nos. 1, 9). [A detailed description follows of the various vessels.—R.D.B.] The finest vessels had an additional ornament on the shoulder, made up of triangles framed in incised channels (Fig. 13, urn 16 ; Fig. 14, urns 131 and 1).

<sup>10</sup> [Apparently unpublished : see below, p. 166, n. 17.—R.D.B.]

(b) Saucers are of two types, the common one (Fig. 15, and Fig. 20, 11) 15–17 cm. in diameter (Nos. 56, 83, 86, 87), and the others (Fig. 16, 1, 2; Fig. 21, 1) wider, stronger and more massive (Nos. 85, 132, 159).

Other types of vessels of red burnished ware were represented mostly by a single vessel each :

(c) Handled cups or ewers (Fig. 18) in three varieties (Fig. 20, 2, 7, 5) : one from the inhumation grave (48) 20·5 cm. high with an offset shoulder, similar to that of the grey burnished ware from Toprak Kale.<sup>11</sup> The other one, from a child's grave (111), 12·5 cm. high (Fig. 18, 2) with a hemispherical body, carinated shoulder : the third, of which only a single sherd survived (Fig. 20, 5/No. 122), had a ribbed body.

(d) Deep cup or tureen (81; Fig. 16, 3)—only two sherds from upper rim of coarse slipped vessel.

(e) Double dish (Figs. 17 and 20 : 9, 10/No. 154)—incomplete.

(f) Pedestalled vase, of which only the base survived (Fig. 18, 3; Fig. 20, 6).

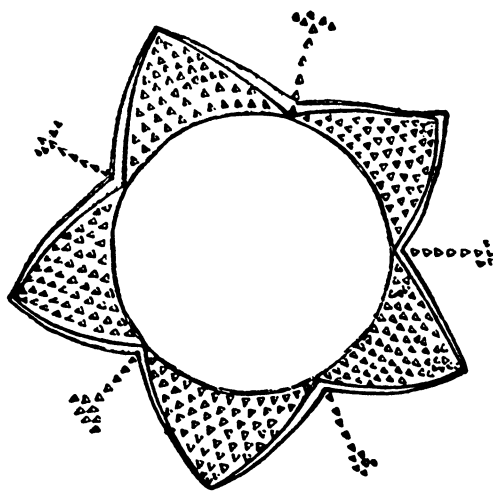


FIG. 13. Star-shaped pattern incised on the shoulder of urn No. 16, seen from above. 1 : 3.

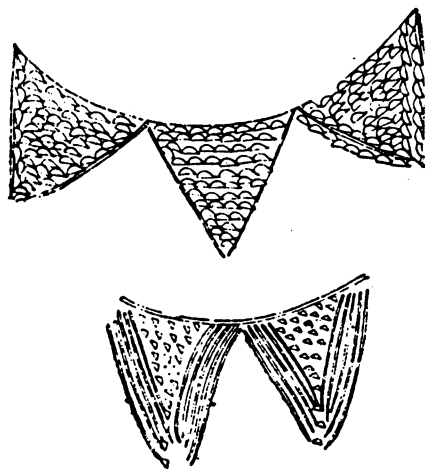


FIG. 14. Shoulder ornament incised on urns Nos. 131 and 1. 1 : 3.

In general, this pottery with finely polished slip resembles the red ware from Toprak Kale which Lehmann-Haupt connected with pottery of Gordion, Troy I and II, and Boghazköy. But stratigraphic evidence at Alishar shows that hand-made red-slip ware already occurs in East Anatolia in the Copper Age after the black burnished ware and replaces the latter in Levels IA and IB. By the end of the third millennium B.C. (Cappadocian period) a wheel-made brown/red-wash pottery occurs simultaneously with the painted ware. Red slipped pottery appears already in the Early Bronze Age at Şamramalti.<sup>12</sup> The author could not, therefore, agree with Lehmann-Haupt who regards this pottery as attesting the Western origin

<sup>11</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, "Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens," *Abh. d. k. Gesell. Wiss. zu Göttingen, ph. hist. kl., N.F.*, Bd. IX, 1907, p. 110, Fig. 82.

<sup>12</sup> Wilhelm Jenny, "Şamramalti," *Wiener Prähist. Zeitschrift*. Bd. XIX, 3, 4, 1928, p. 580.

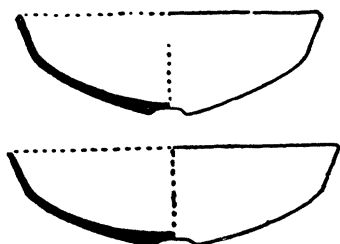


FIG. 15. Red-polished phialae Nos. 83 and 87. 1 : 4.

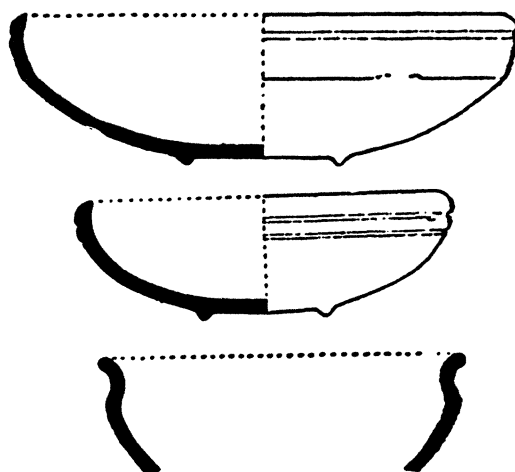


FIG. 16. Red-polished bowls Nos. 132, 159 and 81 from Igdyr. 1 : 4.

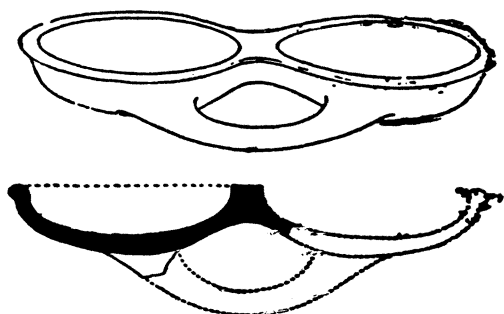


FIG. 17. Double ritual red-polished vase; oblique view and section. 1 : 4.

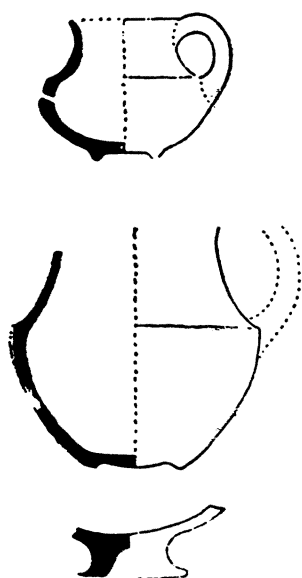


FIG. 18. Baby-feeder No. 112, red-polished-ware juglet No. 111 and foot of red-polished-ware vase No. 155. 1 : 4.

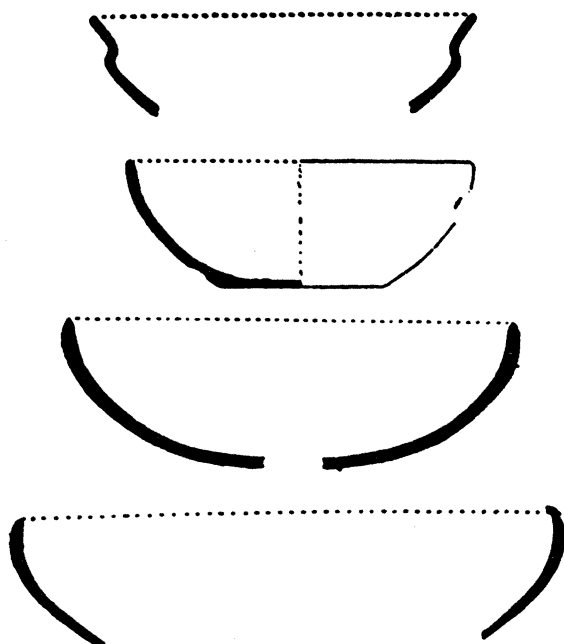


FIG. 19. Red-polished-ware bowls from excavations of A. S. Uvarov in 1879 at Armavir-Blur (Nos. 2904, 2905, 2907, 2911). 1 : 4.

of the Urartians.<sup>13</sup> Goetze was right in looking to the East for the origin of the red slip technique.<sup>14</sup> The red burnished pottery from Igdyr/Malaklyu, in spite of its isolated location, evidently had its roots in the local culture of Transcaucasia, indicating that the Southern Caucasus was not separated from the territory of ancient Urartu in the period prior to the formation of the Urartian Empire.<sup>15</sup> This pottery may be compared with the archaic painted ware from Kizyl-Kala (Tazakend) on the River Zanga,<sup>16</sup> and with that of the Tsalkin royal barrow-graves (Nos. I, VII, XV), in spite of the considerable chronological gap which separates them.

*Armavir Blur.*—The saucers show even closer analogies to those from ancient Armavir (Fig. 19), clearly from an Urartian level, excavated by A. S. Uvarov and A. D. Eritsov in 1879,<sup>17</sup> and now in the Archaeological Section of the Museums of Georgia. This excavation was badly carried out and the material was mixed with the contents of two Sassanian and one Achaemenid burial.

Of the pottery, again from Armavir-Blur, part belonged to the Copper Age burials [discussed in the second part of Kuftin's book, not summarised here—R.D.B.], which is contemporary with the "Clay Citadel" at Malaklyu. Some of the vessels from Armavir-Blur represented by sherds, were painted (Fig. 22) in two colours, red and black. They are from semi-circular cups of fine ware, red without, but painted within with black festoons on a red slip, with black and red loops above.<sup>18</sup> This is evidently the intermediate link between the monochrome pottery of the Tsalkin barrow-graves and the pottery from Malaklyu of the Iron Age, in which, besides the painting, the ancient decorative motifs survived in the form of 5-7-9-pointed stars. We have also to note that at Armavir a more ancient deep level existed producing pottery of identical form<sup>19</sup> which occurs throughout a very large area of Central South Caucasus, from Malaklyu "Clay Citadel" to Tiflis. The conclusion is that the Urartian red burnished ware was a local derivative of this technique from the Southern Caucasus.

The other group of pottery from Igdyr was of a different type, grey in colour : consisting of simple dark grey, wide-mouthed handleless pots, with a single horizontal band on the shoulder as the only decoration (Fig. 21 : 8, 9). All vessels were of the same type, about 24 cm. in diameter (Fig. 20 : 1, from the inhumation grave ; Nos. 156, 104, 47).

To this group belonged also a dark grey feeding cup (No. 112) from the child's grave, its neck offset from the shoulders, similar to a red-burnished urn No. 111 (Figs. 8 and 18 : 1, 2). This was probably a kitchen-ware. The few vessels of this group excavated hitherto do not provide a sufficient basis for the study of this pottery.

## II. Metal Vases

Only oxidised fragments were found. A reconstruction in drawing of only a few vessels was practical.

<sup>13</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>14</sup> A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (1933), p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> [This judgment would now have to be slightly revised in view of the lower dating proposed above, p. 161, n. 5.—R.D.B.]

<sup>16</sup> [References not supplied.—R.D.B.]

<sup>17</sup> P. S. Uvarova, *Kollektzii Kavkaskovo Muzeya* Vol. V, "Arkheologia" (Tiflis, 1902), p. 128.

<sup>18</sup> [This ware appears to be a form of Tell Halaf pottery. If so (and in any event), its evidence is irrelevant.—R.D.B.]

<sup>19</sup> [Discussed in Part II (not summarised here).—R.D.B.]

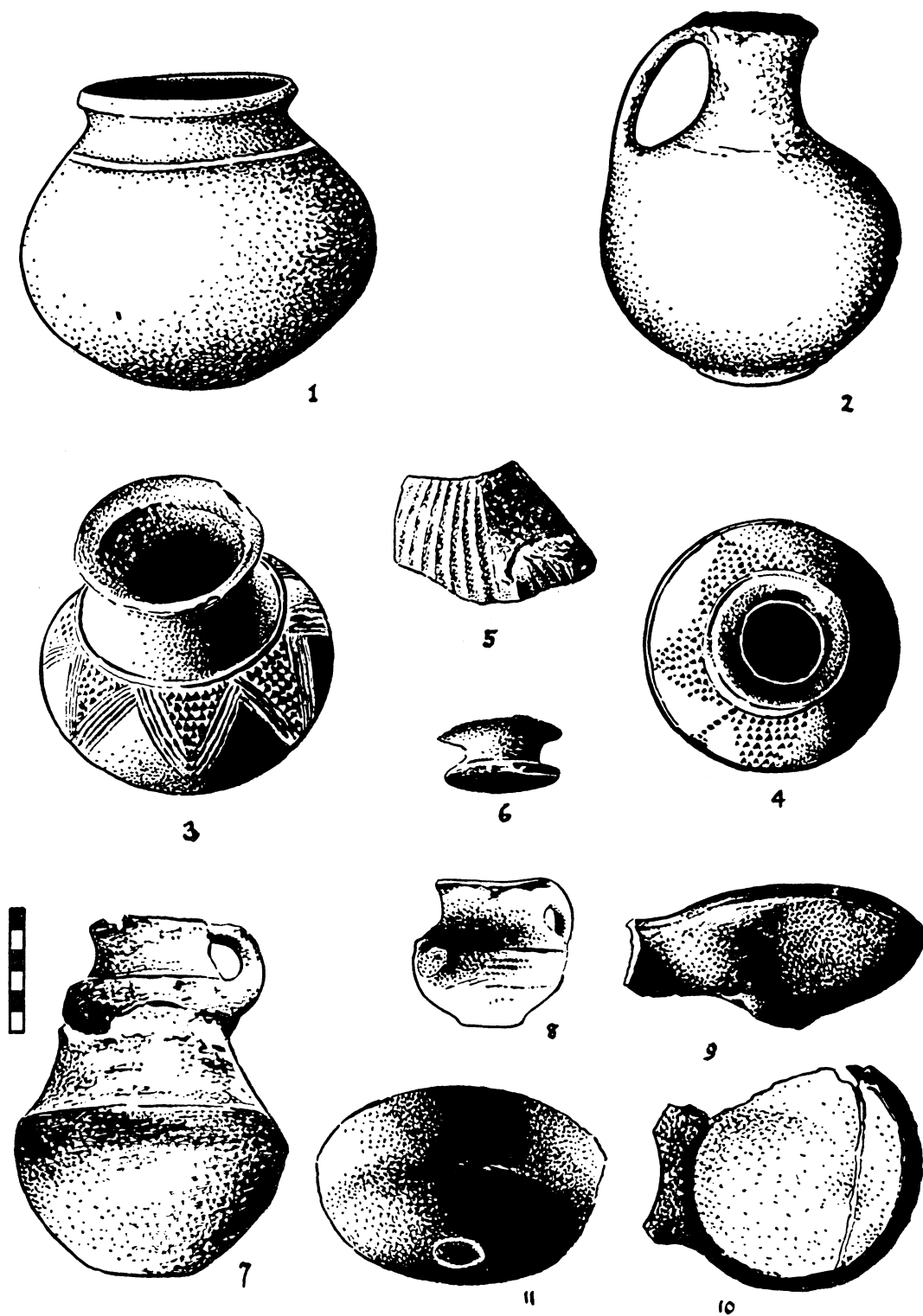


FIG. 20. Pottery from Igdyr.

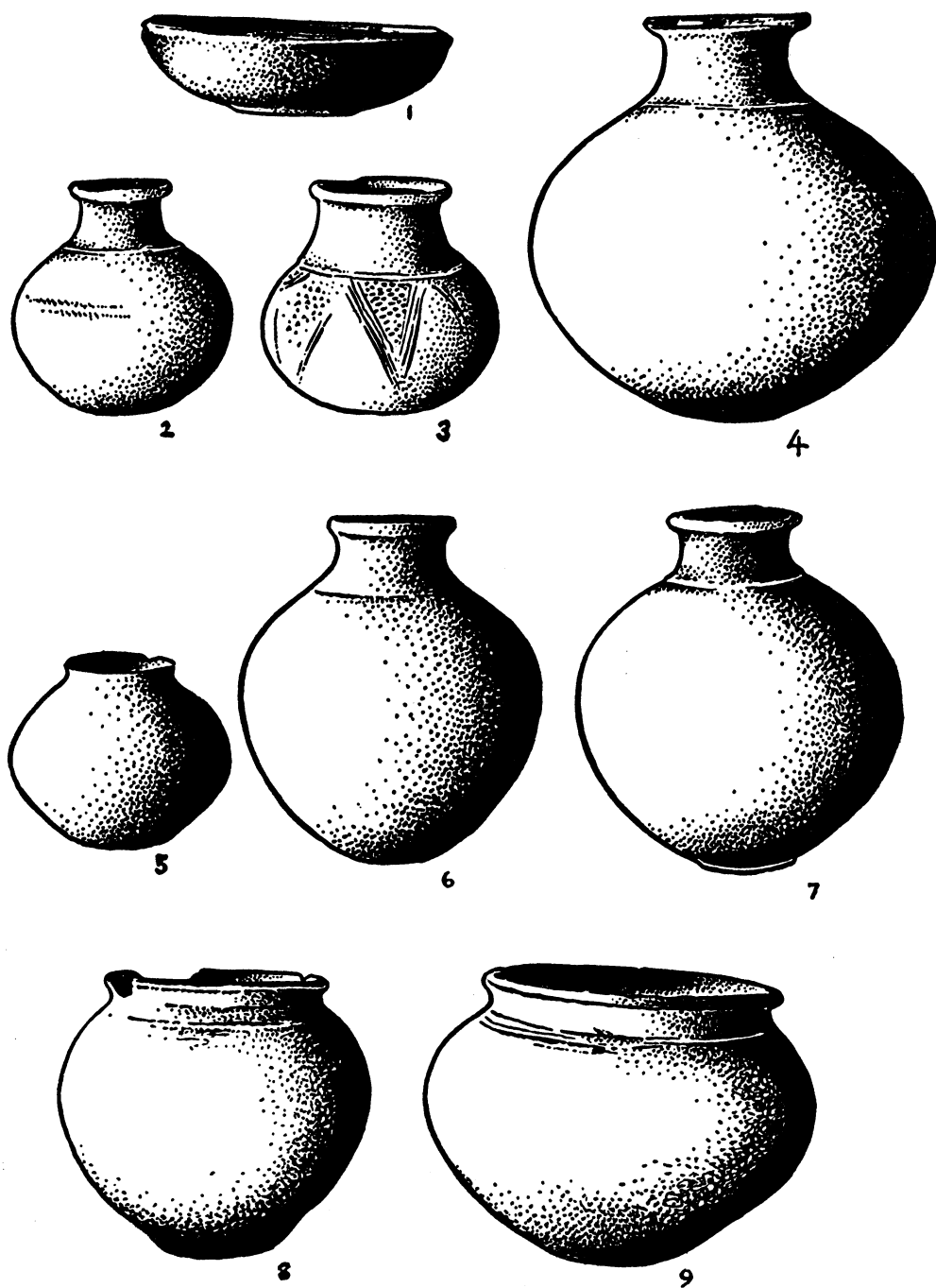


FIG. 21. Pottery from Igdyr.

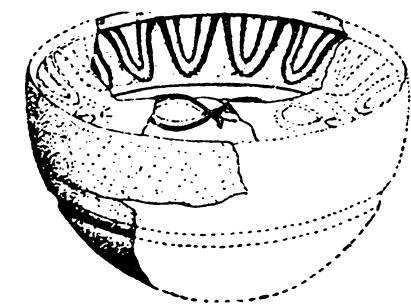


FIG. 22. Polychrome decorated vase excavated by A. S. Uvarov in 1879 at Armavir-Blur (reconstruction and profile). 1 : 2.

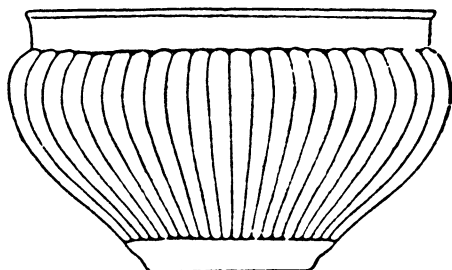


FIG. 24. Bronze ribbed cup, Nos. 108, 126, 135, and bronze jug (reconstructed), with handle, No. 120.

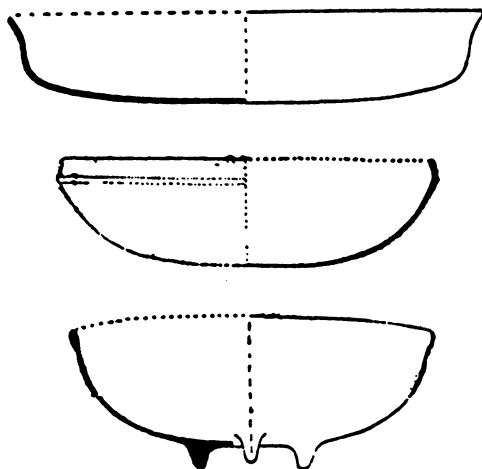
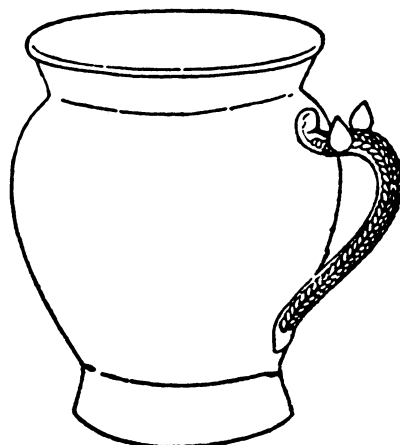


FIG. 23, 1-3. Bronze bowls Nos. 92 and 136 and three-footed dish. 1 : 4.



(a) Cauldron of sheet-copper on an iron frame (127). Parts of the iron rim and two arc-shaped vertical iron handles survived (Fig. 25 : 5). The sheet of the walls was beaten over the iron rim.

(b) Copper riveted dishes in three types (Figs. 23 : 1, 2, and Fig. 37 : 2), often used to cover urns (Nos. 136, 92, 134). The last was a cup of shallow spherical form with round base 15 cm. in diameter and 4.3 cm. high, with thickened lip and a fine rib in relief.

(c) Semi-circular miniature dish, about 14 cm. in diameter (Fig. 23 : 3), with three (?) feet. Only a few fragments left.

(d) Bowls with ribbed belly (Fig. 24 : 1 ; Nos. 108, 126, 135 ; Fig. 25 : 3), found in fragments in Points 8, 10 and 11. To judge from those from Point 10, they were made of a single piece of copper sheet, 10 cm. high and 17 cm. in diameter. A similar vase was found at Toprak-Kale,<sup>20</sup> and another one in pieces at Idalion in Cyprus, dated about 500 B.C.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, "Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens," *Abh. d. k. Gesell. Wiss. zu Göttingen, ph. hist. kl., N.F.*, Bd. IX, 1907, p. 100, Fig. 71, and *Armenien Einst und Jetzt* II, 2, Fig., p. 506.

<sup>21</sup> Gjerstadt, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* Vol. II, p. 583, 81, Pl. CLXXX, type 6.

(e) A tumbler with slightly contracted walls (Fig. 25 : 7), a chance find in the area of the cemetery.

(f) A vessel of unknown shape, but presumably vertical walls, with two arc-shaped riveted handles, which alone survived from the vessel (Fig. 25 : 4).

(g) Bronze lids of vessels, with high knobs (Fig. 25 : 1).

None of the vessels above bears signs of turning on lathe as commonly found in Roman work. All were hammered out of a single sheet of copper [*sic*], or of a series of sheets riveted together, as in the next case.

(h) Jug with handle ending in a long-eared animal (Fig. 25 : 6 ; Fig. 24 : 2 ; No. 120). Similar examples were found by P. S. Uvarova at Ruchti<sup>22</sup> and other sites in Northern Ossetia, and in complete form in the hoard from Lechkhum in Western Georgia, found at Okureshi (Fig. 28), consisting of bronze objects of Koban-Colchidic types. To this hoard belonged three vessels all hammered out of bronze sheet ; a larger bronze situla with two handles, corresponding in all details with that found in an early Scythian barrow-grave, at Zhabotin in the province of Kiev (Fig. 29 : 2) ;<sup>23</sup> and two other vessels of the same type and made in the same technique.<sup>24</sup> All these vessels had handles ending in an animal head, of the same form as those from Northern Ossetia and the handle from Malaklyu. The handle from Malaklyu (Fig. 25 : 6 and Fig. 28 : 2) differs from those above only in that the snout of the animal was rounded, not rectangular ; the rounded snout it has in common with another vessel of the same type, found at Tahancza near Kanev, in 1894.<sup>25</sup>

These similarities in all details dispose of the hitherto common views of the Western, Hallstatt, origin of the vessels of the above type found in the Ukraine.<sup>26</sup> While the resemblance of the Ukrainian situlae to those of Hallstatt is close in the swelling, but not as in Late Hallstatt conical, body, the Ukrainian examples are distinguished by the structure and position of the handles and the vertical shoulders. On the other hand, they show such a similarity both in profile and form of handles to those found in Georgia (which are linked with the Igdyr find in Transcaucasia across the Araxes) that their origin cannot be doubted. They were Southern Caucasian imports in the Ukraine in the pre-Scythic period. The similarity of the Ukrainian types to the Hallstatt vessels is due to the influence of Venetian and Etruscan forms on the latter which in their turn were under Oriental influence.

Thus the question arises as to the date of the "Columbarium", and also whether the climax of the Koban culture was contemporary with the period of the Urartian Empire. But the Okureshi hoard also contains, besides the situlae and jugs of Malaklyu type, a series of beautiful objects typical of the Koban culture, mainly newly cast, with no signs of use. This now involves a discussion of the whole Okureshi-Lechkhum hoard. This belongs to the period when the brilliant bronze industry of the Caucasus, rich in copper ore, was opposing the Urartian Empire,

<sup>22</sup> P. S. Uvarova, *Mogilnik Severnogo Kavkaza. Materialy po Arkeologii Kavkaza VIII* (Moscow, 1900), p. 241, Fig. 196 ; p. 207 and 72, Pl. XXVXI, 2.

<sup>23</sup> N. Makarenko, "La Civilisation des Scythes et Hallstatt," *Eurasia Sept. Ant.* V, 1930, Fig. 1, 13-17, pps. 27, 40-43.

<sup>24</sup> [For another handle of this type from Yazili-Kaya, Phrygia, see Brandenburg, *Abh. Bayr. Akad. Wiss. hist. kl.*, Vol. 23, Pt. III, 1906, Fig. 77.—R.D.B.]

<sup>25</sup> J. Chojnowski, *Słowianie w czasach przed-histerycznych i opisanie archeologicznych Kolekcji*, Kiev, 1902, idem, *Kratkie arheologicheskie Svedeniya o predkakh Slavyan i Rusi*, Kiev, 1896. W. Sommerfeld, "Naczynie miedziane halsztackie z Ukrainy" *Swiatowit*, Vol. XVII, Warsaw, 1938, pp. 307-311, Figs. 1-3.

<sup>26</sup> Makarenko, Sommerfeld, Chojnowski, op. cit.



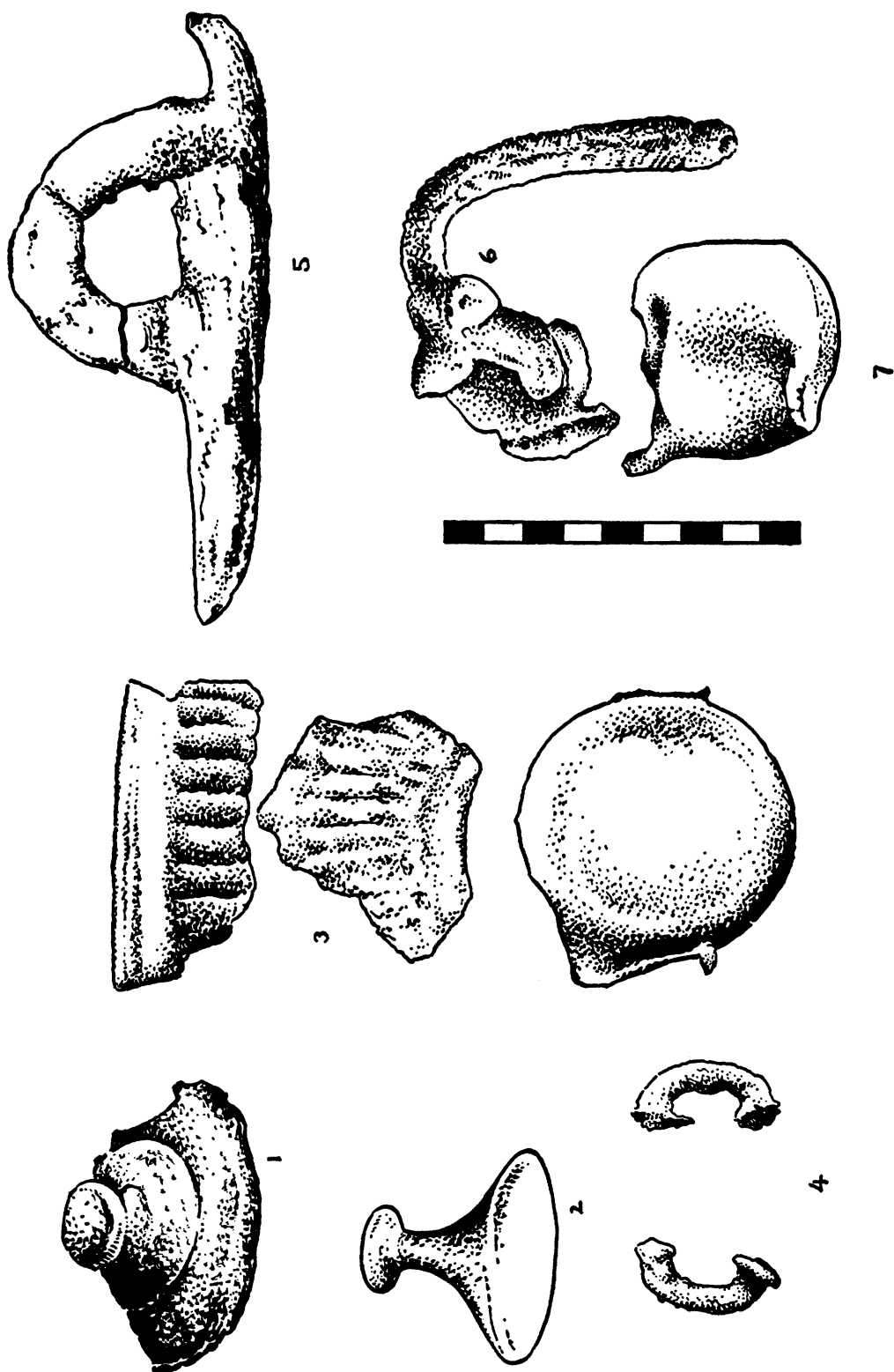


FIG. 25. Metal objects from Igdyr.

which was already using entirely iron weapons. This discussion is of importance because Przeworski in his publication <sup>27</sup> dated the Ordu hoard and the Colchidic-Koban Bronze Age to the end of the second millennium B.C.

### III. *The Lechkhum Hoard* (digression)

This was found in 1924 near the village of Okureshi on the foot of Mt. Ladzhobi by a peasant, under an ancient stone wall about 7 m. long, 2.3 m. high, and consisted of twenty-nine bronze objects deposited in a large bronze situla. The hoard was given to the Ethnographical Museum of the University of Tiflis, but later was transferred to the Archaeological Section of the National Georgian Museums. It was a genuine hoard, all the items being of the same period. All have the same patina except seven objects: six axes, one miniature axe and a "sickle-axe" (Fig. 26 : 5, 6) which bear a slightly different patina. These undoubtedly formed part of the same hoard as the rest, but to avoid controversy the author does not discuss them.

The part of the hoard under discussion (Figs. 26–29) consisted, apart from the bronze situla and two bronze jugs, of personal ornaments, viz. a massive neck torque, two light bracelets, six heavy anklets (two of them being broken) and a group of weapons: an adze, seven "Koban" axes of Hançar's polished "second type" with wedge-shaped butt and with symmetrical cutting edge) and two larger ones of the "first type", coarser, with a hexagonal butt and asymmetrical cutting edge. There are no Koban fibulae, hair ornaments or pendants, all these ornaments being extremely seldom found in use in Northern Ossetia or Western Georgia.

The bronze torque (inner diameter 12 cm.) represents a well-known Koban type. Chantre <sup>28</sup> thought that the torques were worn by men in the Koban, but this is hard to confirm. At Primorskoe (Petropavlovskoe) in Abkhazia, <sup>29</sup> such a torque was found jointly with four axes, a dagger, cast in one with handle, a fibula, etc.; another torque was also found there in 1931 with a Koban axe and a dagger. Another torque of the same type, now in the Sukhum Museum, was found at Anukhva (Gudait District). No such torques have been found in Transcaucasia outside Abkhazia.

The bracelet made of thin plaque with spiral terminals (Fig. 27 : 1) is most unusual in Transcaucasia, but typical of the Koban culture. Another (Fig. 27 : 2) in the form of a ribbon of uniform width, with three horizontal channels separated by ribs in relief, resembles one found at Dzveli-Anaga (Kakheti). <sup>30</sup> Another fragment of a bracelet (Fig. 27 : 4) has a coarse zoomorphic motive in dotted technique.

The anklets, four entire and two in fragments, oval, with cut ends, of various weights (1,115, 963, 961, 543 and 516 grammes), about 11.7 cm. in centre, their surface smooth and undecorated, represent a type unique in Transcaucasia.

The only flat lugged axe-adze (Fig. 27 : 5) differs from similar specimens (Sasireti, <sup>31</sup> Karabulakh, <sup>32</sup> in that it was cast in a double mould and has a slight semi-circular edge. It differs in several details from the lugged axes common in

<sup>27</sup> S. Przeworski, "Der Grottefund von Ordu," *Archiv Orientalni* VII, 3, 1935, pp. 409–412.

<sup>28</sup> F. Chantre, *Récherches Anthropologiques dans le Caucase* I, 1805, p. 56.

<sup>29</sup> Strazhen, "Bronzovaya Kultura v Abkhazii," *Izvestiya Abkhazskovo Nauchnovo Obschestva*, Sukhum, 1926, P. III, 14.

<sup>30</sup> Virchow, *Zeitschr. für Ethnologie*, Verhandlungen, 1890, p. 424, Fig. 11.

<sup>31</sup> Nioradzhe, "Der Verwahrfund von Kvemo-Sasireti," *Euras. Sept. Ant.* VII, 1932, p. 86, Figs. 4–6.

<sup>32</sup> Ivanovsky, *Po Zakavkazyu. Arkheologicheskie nablyudeniya i issledovaniya*, 1893, 1894 and 1896. *Materiali po Arkh. Kavkaza* VI, Moscow, 1911, p. 162, Pl. XVI, 7.

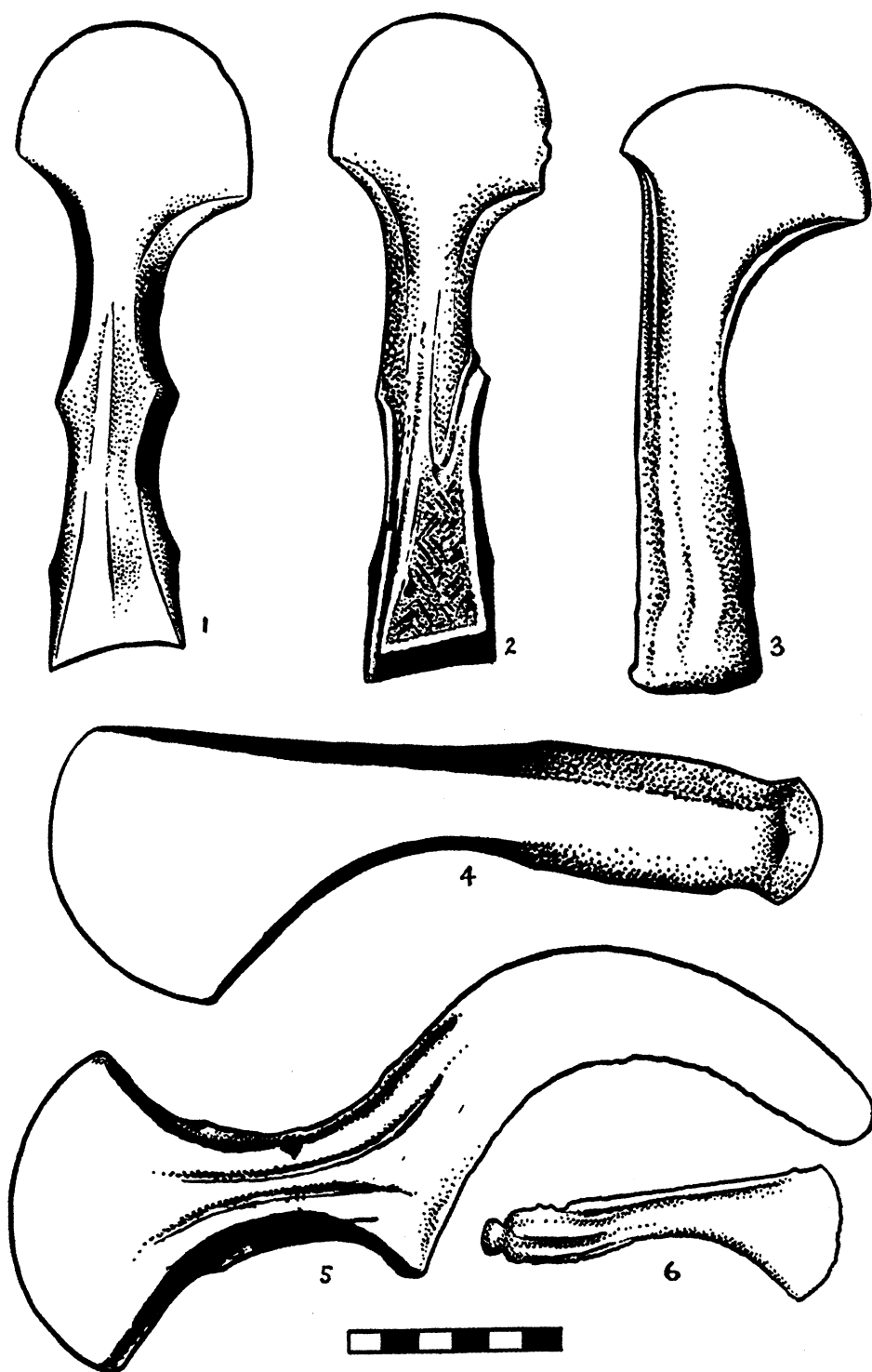


FIG. 26. Bronze axes from Lechkhum.

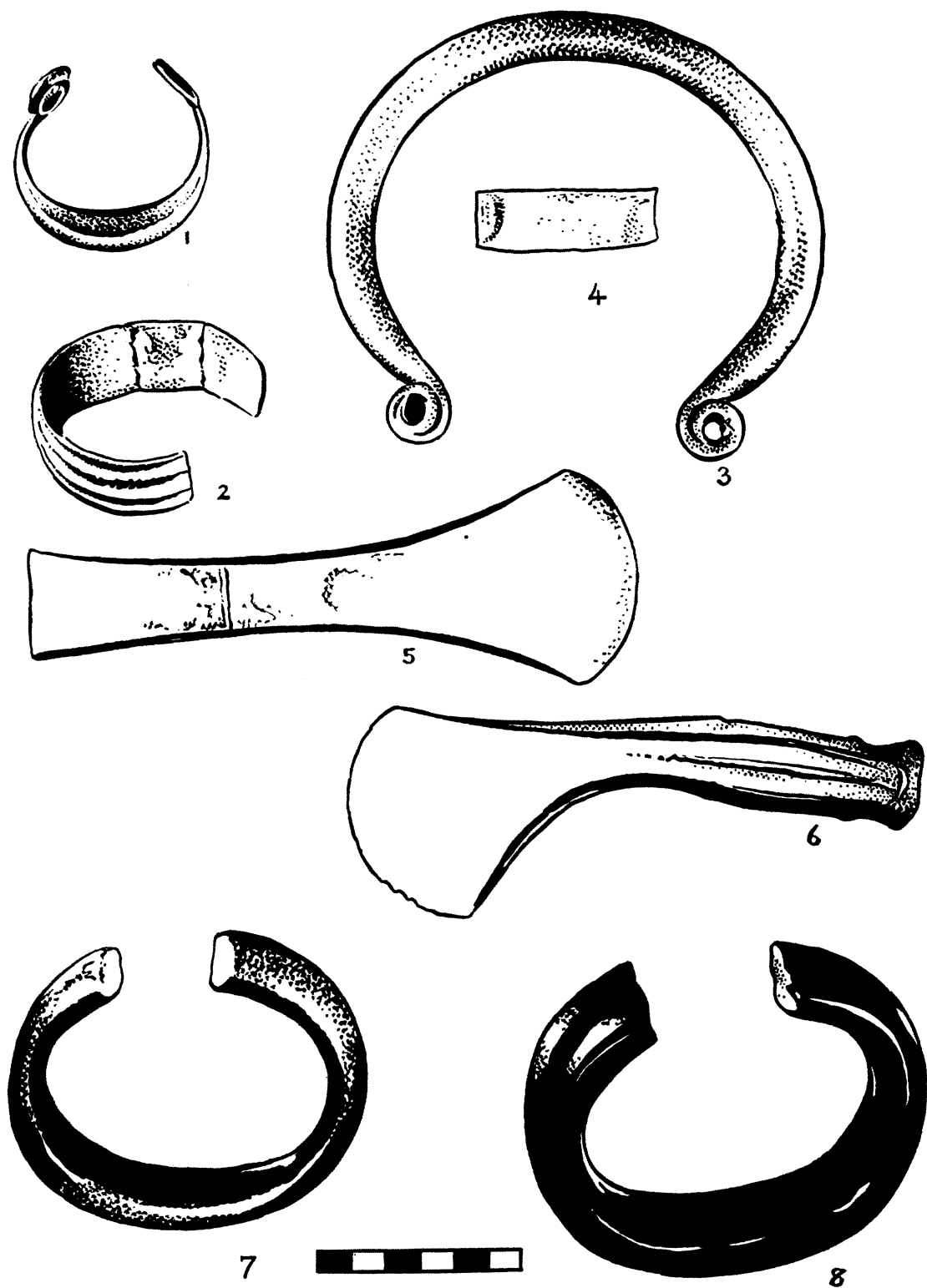


FIG. 27. Bronze objects from Lechkhum.



FIG. 28. Bronze jug (1) and situla (3) and axe (4) from Lechkhum ; handle (2) from Igdyr.

Asia Minor and from a series of other lugged axes of Transcaucasia. This type of lugged axe-adze was found in Northern Caucasus only at Piatigorsk, where it occurred in three variations.<sup>33</sup>

The specimen from Lechkhum represents a local type of a class which is distributed from India, Eastern Iran and Troy as far as Italy. Similar iron axe-adzes are still in use in modern Georgia.

The eight shaft-hole axes are from 17.1 to 19.2 cm. long. Five have finely raised horizontal ribs (Fig. 26 : 4) and three have in addition an engraved ornament in form of a cord in relief, typical of the "classic" axes of this type (Fig. 26 : 1-3). The latter three are less thoroughly executed, but massive, and two bear traces of use.

The great situla, 33 cm. high (Fig. 28 : 3 and 29 : 1) is made of a sheet, hammered, the base being separate and riveted on by small copper rivets. A situla with similarly made base was found at Shuakhevi (district of Dusheti), but differs

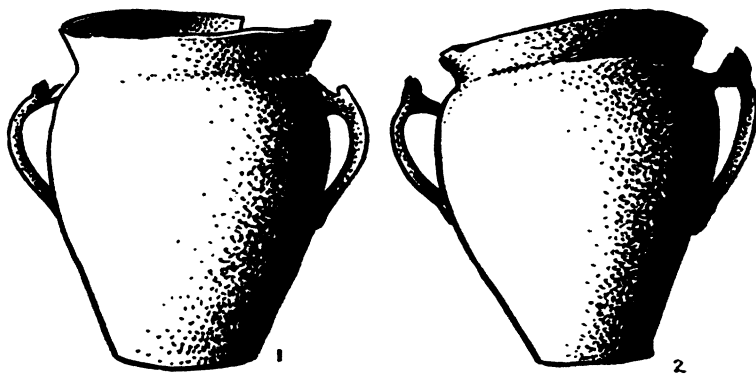


FIG. 29. Bronze situlae.  
1 : Lechkhum. 2 : Zhabotin.

from that of Lechkhum in its profile, and its handles obliquely riveted on to the rim as in the "Cimmerian" examples of Gorodtsov.<sup>34</sup> Handles at Lechkhum were apparently cast separately in a curve, and so were also handles of the situlae from Zhabotin (Fig. 29 : 2).

The two small jugs found inside the larger one are of a form similar to the situla (Fig. 28 : 1) but differ from it in the manufacture of their base. This was cast separately but differently affixed to the upper part of the vessel. Both have a single handle with the same zoomorphic top as the situla ; the handle of one of the jugs had also a cast "cord" decoration. [End of Lechkhum digression.—R.D.B.]

#### IV. *The Bronze Toilet Ornaments and Objects* did not form a homogeneous group.

(a) Thin plating for attachment to a *belt* or *quiver* (Figs. 30 and 31) found at Points 2, 10, 11, but those from the last two Points bear the same decoration (Fig. 30). It was originally 15 cm. wide (restored), with small perforations along the edges for attachment, and a decoration of tightly placed stamped dots, four in a row, forming several parallel lines. It was damaged and repaired in antiquity.

<sup>33</sup> A. S. Uvarov, *Katalog sobraniya drevnostei IV-VI*, Moscow, 1907, p. 9, No. 31, Fig. 5.

<sup>34</sup> V. A. Gorodtsov, "K Voprosu o kimmeriiskoi kul'ture," *Trudy Seksii Arkh. RAINO* 1a, Pl. II, Moscow, 1928, p. 56.

Similar bronze belts were common in the Southern Caucasus and in Hither Asia at the end of the second and the first half of the first millennium, often ornamented with figures of hunting scenes, in Luristan,<sup>35</sup> cut on the bas-relief on the gateway of Boghazköy,<sup>36</sup> or in South Caucasus and Kurdistan, which however differ from the usual South Caucasian examples stylistically and technically by their decoration being raised on relief, not engraved. In its relief, decoration and its geometric patterns the belt from Malaklyu finds its closest parallel in that found at Samtavro

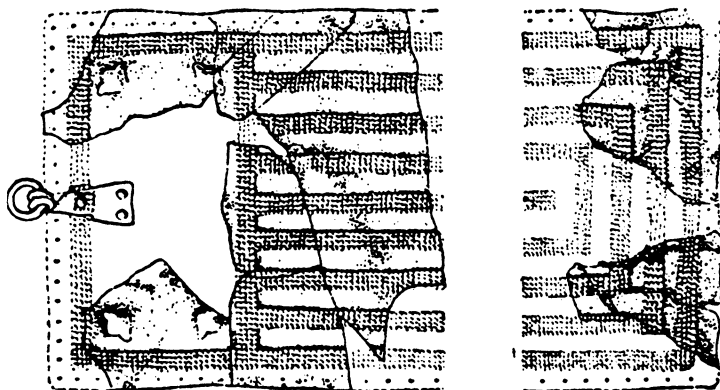


FIG. 30. Bronze belt from Igdyr. 1 : 2.

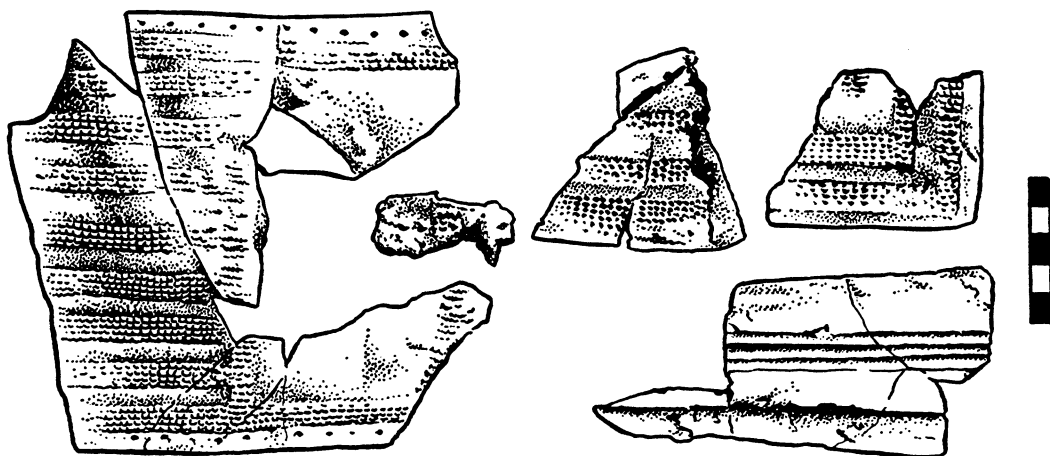


FIG. 31. Fragments of bronze belts from Igdyr.

by Bayern, from the first grave (lower layer),<sup>37</sup> but differs from it and other normal Transcaucasian band-belts of bronze by its holes for attachment along the two edges and the ring clasp which is of a type known from the quiver of Karmir-Blur.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> [Author gives no references.—R.D.B.]

<sup>36</sup> [Strictly speaking, the belt of this figure is not exactly comparable as it is unornamented. See photographs in e.g. Akurgal and Hirmer, *The Art of the Hittites* (1962) Pls. 64–65.]

<sup>37</sup> [Virchow, "Friedrich Bayern's Untersuchungen über die ältesten Gräber und Schatzfunde in Kaukasien," *Zeitsch. Ethn.* (Berlin, 1885), publishing this grave, describes no such belt.—R.D.B.]

<sup>38</sup> Ter-Avetisian and Piotrovsky, *Karmir-Blur*, Report on 1940 season. *Izvestiya* 4–5, *Arm. Fil. Ak. Nauk* 1940, p. 153. [See Barnett and Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq* XIV, 1952, Pl. XXXII.]

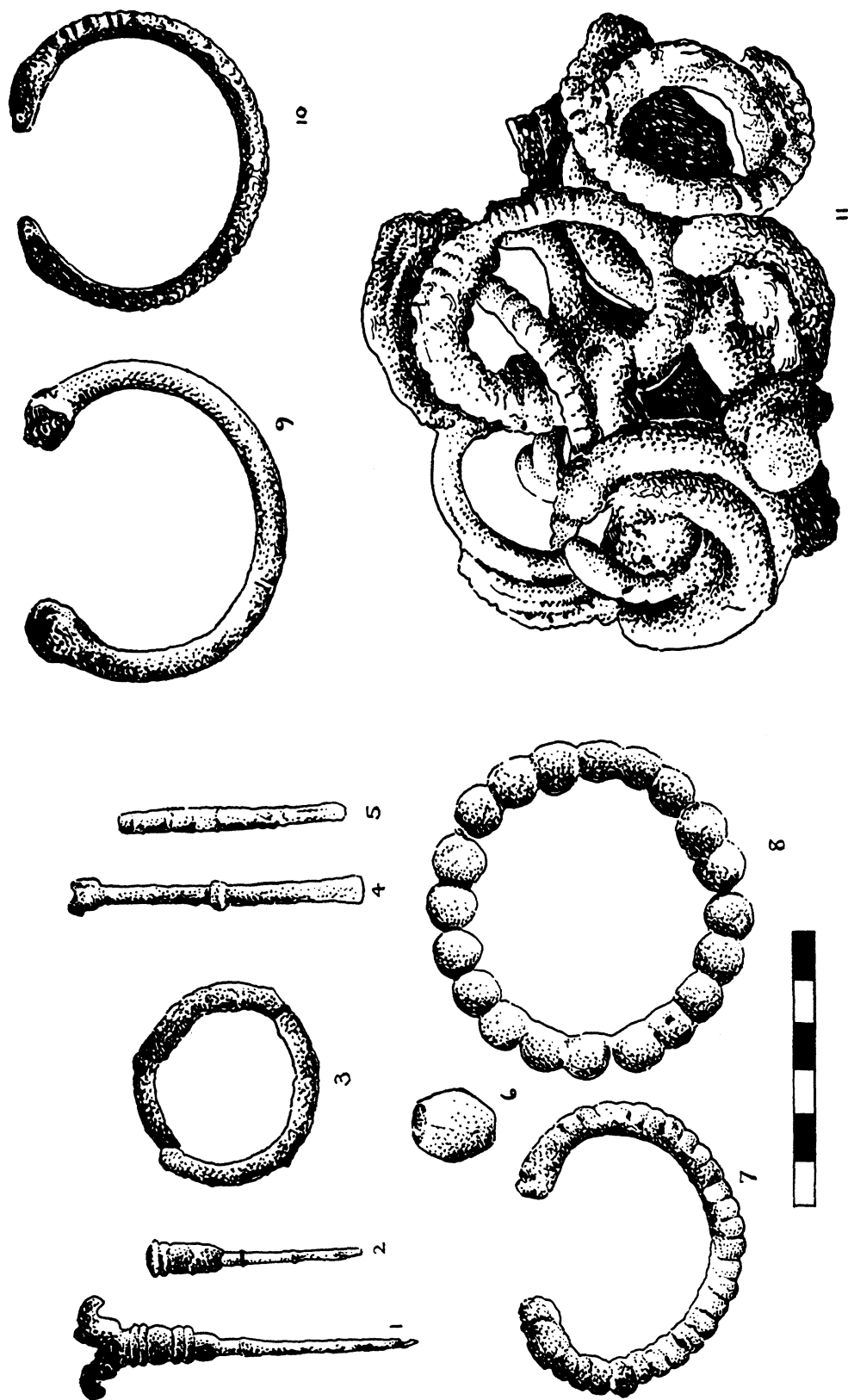


Fig. 32. Bronze ornaments from Igdyr.



(b) *Pins*.—Only two (Nos. 39, 40) (Fig. 32 : 1, 2) were found, both from burial 1 ; they are 7–9 cm. long ; thickened and pierced heads, finely decorated and with cross-hatching ; the central part of the head is enlarged, and one ribbed above and below surmounted with four hook-shaped beaks. A similar pin was found near Atskhari (district of Akhaltsikh) associated with objects typical of the Koban-Colchidic and late Koban type.<sup>39</sup>

A bronze *needle* was also found in the same grave.

(c) *Bronze Tweezers and Earscoop* (Fig. 32 : 4), much oxidised ; perhaps originally on a single ring, No. 117 from Point 10. Tweezers are 7.5 cm. long. Both represent a widespread type, in use for several millennia, from the earliest metal age till the present day, and of identical shape whether in Europe or the Near East or the Caucasus. Childe<sup>40</sup> distinguished two main forms of tweezer, the earlier Sumero-Indian (Harappa), made of two separate bands fixed together ; the other made of a single band forms the Aegeo-Egyptian group spreading into Hither Asia

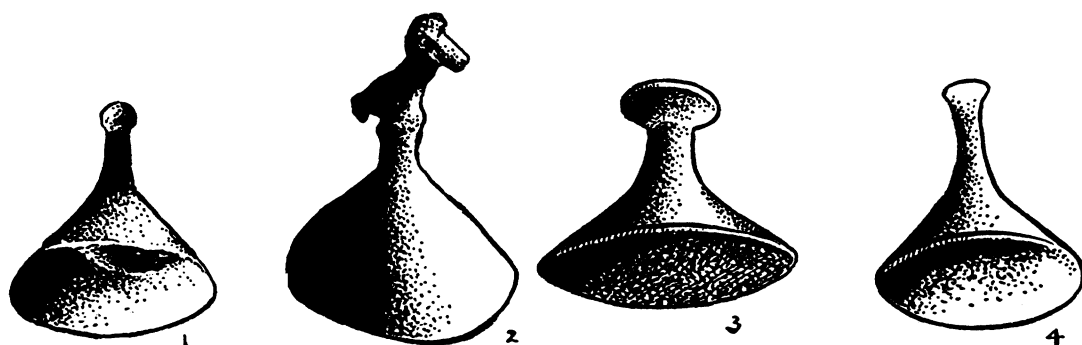


FIG. 33. Bronze pendants. 1, 2, 4 from Esheri ; 3 from Igdyr.

and Europe. It is again subdivided into two sub-groups : ancient Cypriot and Mycenaean in simple bow form ; and middle European.<sup>41</sup> Both latter variations appear in the South Caucasus, the second variety prevailing in Colchidic assemblages. Our specimen belongs to the second variety above.

(d) *Conical pendants* with knob or animal handles and loop inside ; height 3.5 cm., diameter 5 cm. Four specimens found in grave 10 (Fig. 33 : 3 and Fig. 25 : 2). Their purpose is unclear. Similar specimens were found in Colchidic Bronze Age graves in Abkhazia at Eshery (Fig. 33 : 1, 2, 4), some with animal heads or entire figures.<sup>42</sup> This again points to a synchronism between the "Columbarium" and the climax of the Colchidic-Koban culture.

(e) Two bronze *Pendants*, pear-shaped and hollow, with hemispherical lower part joined to a conical upper part, with a ring on the top ; found in Point 10 (Fig. 37 : 3), 3.5 cm. in diameter and 2 cm. high.

<sup>39</sup> The pin is in the Georgian Government Museums, No. 56—14.10.

<sup>40</sup> V. G. Childe, "Die Bedeutung der altsumerischen Metalltypen für die Chronologie der Europäischen Bronzezeit." *Mitt. Anthropol. Gesell. in Wien*, LXIII, 1933, pp. 218–221.

<sup>41</sup> G. Wilke, "Archäologische Parallelen aus dem Kaukasus und den unteren Donauländern," *Zeitsch. Ethnologie* 1904, pp. 71–72.

<sup>42</sup> [Exactly similar objects, occurring in the Nuraghe culture of Sardinia, may be seen in the Museum at Cagliari.—R.D.B.]

(f) *Armlets* formed the largest group, and were of three types :

(1) "Rosary-like" (Fig. 32 : 8), one (No. 49) found in Point 2—in fragments only ; it looks as if made of a series of massive bronze beads—a similar one was found at Velistsikhe (Kakhetii).

(2) Armlets made of a copper wire, on which iron wire was wound spirally (No. 35) (Fig. 32 : 7), from grave 1, being the only specimen.

(3) Armlets with lion's-head terminals (Fig. 32 : 9-11) which were found in most graves (Fig. 34 : 4-7). These all have the head strongly marked off from the rod, almost cubic forms and coarse modelling, and have usually two short ears and a furrow behind the nose. The rod is usually rounded, smooth, seldom segmented (Fig. 34 : 4).

Such armlets are not usually found in South Caucasian graves : only two specimens are known to the writer : one from Armavir and the other at the Hermitage found at Zakim (Oltin district),<sup>43</sup> with a bronze belt having a decoration in relief, which A. S. Spitsyn compared with the decoration of the gold scabbard and handle of the Melgunov sword.<sup>44</sup>

#### V. *The Oltin Belt and the Find of 1905 at Lake Urmia* (digression).

The character of the decoration of this belt, the running bull, lions, winged bowmen of siren-form, palmettes and six-rayed rosettes, may be compared with the belt found, according to Atrpet<sup>45</sup> in 1905 by peasants at Gushchi near Lake Urmia (district of Salmas), in a stone chamber with a skeleton of a bull ; the skeleton was covered with wax (a custom mentioned by Strabo<sup>46</sup> as practised by the Persians). With it were silver vessels, ornaments and two hollow bronze bull figures, of which only the heads survived. They were extremely well sculptured, recalling the heads on capitals of later date of the Palace of Xerxes at Persepolis, according to Sarre's view,<sup>47</sup> although the latter were modelled under Assyrian or even, according to Herzfeld, Urartian influence. Sarre published one of these heads,<sup>48</sup> then in private possession in Berlin, as Median, i.e. pre-Achaemenid. Comparison of this photograph with that published by Atrpet indicates that the heads are identical and represent in fact a bronze bull's head which was in the Medjid-Saltan Collection and, according to Atrpet, was broken off with hammers from one of the above-mentioned bull figures by the searchers for gold. The other head was sent as a gift to the former Shah Mohamed Alla Mirza, who sold it ; it passed into the hands of Avtandelian. He sent it to Europe and it is now lost.<sup>49</sup> Atrpet's photograph shows that it is not to be identified with the head in the Kelekian Collection, published as Achaemenid by Pope,<sup>50</sup> though it is very similar. Whether or no Atrpet's attribution of these heads to figures is to be believed, one cannot

<sup>43</sup> Spitsyn, *Otchet Arkheologicheskoy Komissii* (1904), 1907, p. 41, Fig. 24. [There is, however, good reason to derive these bracelets from the lion-headed armlets shown worn by hunting attendants of Assyrian kings such as Ashurbanipal ; see Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs*, London, 1959, Pls. 60, 61.]

<sup>44</sup> [Pridik, "Melgunovskii Klad," *Mat. po arkh. Rossii* III, 1911 ; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 171-2 ; Barnett, "Median Art," *Iranica Antiqua* II, pp. 85-6.—R.D.B.]

<sup>45</sup> Atrpet, "Kult Byka v Drevnii Armenii" ["The Bull Cult in Ancient Armenia"] (in *Armenian*), *Azgagrakan Hantes* 1912, 2, p. 121. Here Fig. 48.

<sup>46</sup> Geogr. XV, 3, 20. Cf. Servius on Vergil, *Aen.* VI, 420.

<sup>47</sup> F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persiens* 1923, pp. 19, 67, Pl. 45.

<sup>48</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>49</sup> [It has now found its way to the Fogg Museum. See note 51.]

<sup>50</sup> *Survey of Persian Art* (1931), Pl. 108 F. The author regrets that R. Dussaud, "La tête de bronze d'époque achéménide," in *Bull. des Musées de France* 1933, p. 139, was inaccessible to him.

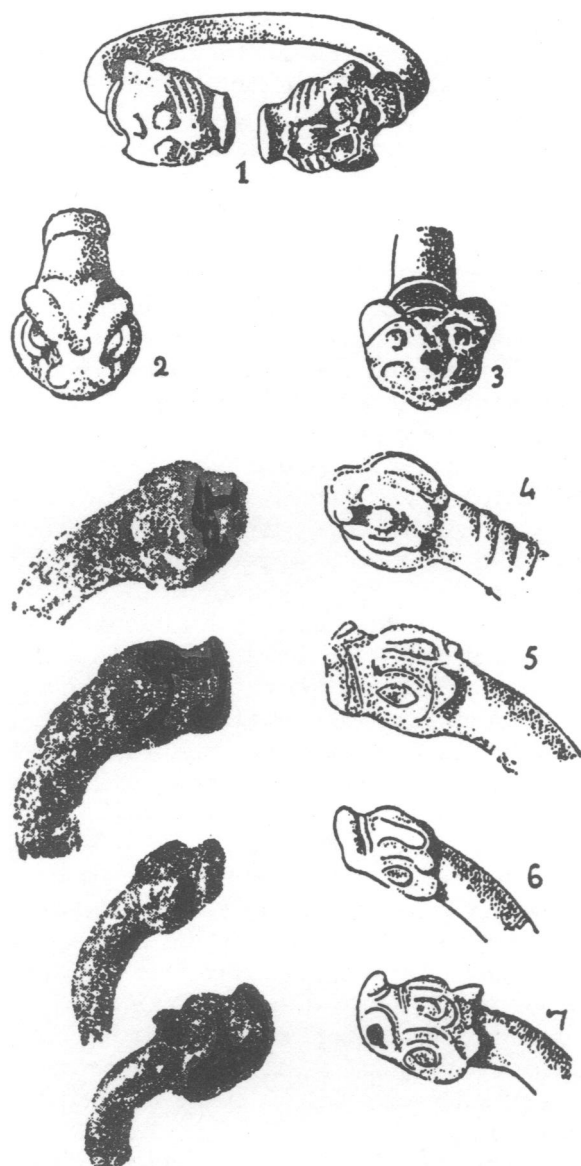


FIG. 34. Bronze armlets with lion's-head terminals. 1, 3 : Luristan. 2, 4-7 : Igdyr. Scale 1 : 1.

agree with Sarre that they are from the ornament of a vessel. The rim round the edge of their necks is only suitable for insertion into some object, e.g. sculpture, not for the decoration of a cauldron : whereas the bull's head of bronze at the Hermitage (not illustrated here), with wing projections, is typically adapted for this purpose with rivets.<sup>51</sup> It is, however, clearly Urartian, not Iranian, and enables

<sup>51</sup> [Kuftin's description is confusing, since he accepts the very doubtful account of Atrpet and the peasants, that the bull's heads in question were parts of complete figures, the rest of which were destroyed. This is, of course, not so, and indeed, the whole account of the burial is to be treated with some reserve. It is now certain that the heads are of a normal type applied in Urartian art to the rims of cauldrons by means of wings, and they must have come from such a cauldron. Both heads have now been traced and republished by G. M. A. Hanfmann, the one from the Kelekian Collection being now in that of Mr. J. J. Emery of Cincinnati, while the other is at the Fogg Museum, Harvard, U.S.A. For details see Hanfmann's admirable discussion, "Four Urartian Bull's Heads," *Anatolian Studies* VI, 1956. Sarre's bull's head is now in the Louvre.]

us to attribute a similar origin to the pair from Gushchi. The bull's head in the Hermitage was found in Kurdistan near its frontier with South Caucasus in 1859, together with a second bronze handle (Hermitage, No. 16003) in the shape of a siren figure,<sup>52</sup> with female head and the hands spread over bird wings.<sup>53</sup> Longpérier<sup>54</sup> first in 1871 pointed to its Urartian connections, as did Stasov<sup>55</sup> in his study of two identical handles from Lake Van.

A number of similar handles have been found over a very large area extending as far as Etruria in the west, having been exported via Sinope, according to Fürtwangler.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, the character of Hittite art was made clear and the cultural centres of the Mitannian-Hurrian-Urartian people began to be established; at the same time many undoubtedly Urartian objects have been identified. The siren-shaped handle, with a face and locks, according to Lehmann-Haupt, of Georgian type, proved to be a leading type of Urartian art. The author points out that their treatment of feathers in four or several rows is typical of Urartian art. This is foreign to Assyrian art, but appears in Hittite art: e.g. at Zinjirli, Eyuk, [= Alaca Hüyük] Yazili-Kaya, Sakce-Gözü, etc. He also quotes several examples in Urartian art: the griffin in the Berlin Museum, winged bulls from the Hermitage and the British Museum; winged bull in the de Vogüé Collection, and that from the Uvarova Collection.<sup>57</sup>

The bull's head at the Hermitage is from a cauldron and in construction and several technical details is similar to the siren-shaped handle with which it was found. It may be compared with the bronze bulls' heads from the British Museum, although there are several differences between them. From the style of the London specimens and of the handle from the Hermitage it may be concluded that they must have been made at a time when the characteristic features of this style were already well developed, as also exemplified in the type of the bulls from Gushchi.

The treatment of the Urmian (Gushchi) bulls' heads closely resembles both that on the Gushchi belt (Fig. 48) and those on fragments of a shield of Rusa II<sup>58</sup> from Toprak-Kale, which are closely related by their style and the manner in which their various details were treated, the lions and bulls in particular. The figures on the belts from Oltin and that from Urmia recall in their gallop the winged griffin (Fig. 35) from Shirak (district of Leninakan).<sup>59</sup> The decoration of this was cast in relief and, in addition, stamped. It has also a cable decoration like that of the London shield, and a pattern of palmettes and buds, similar to that of the Berlin shield, and a sacred tree of the same type as on the Meġunov sword, and the belt from Zakim.

The half-human figures of the Oltin belt hold their hands and bow in the same position as those on the Melgunov sword, the difference being in the number

<sup>52</sup> B. B. Piotrovsky, "Urartskie bronzovye Statuetki sobraniya Ermitazha," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka I*, Leningrad, 1939, p. 50.

<sup>53</sup> *Atlas po istorii kultury i iskusstva Drevnogo Vostoka*, Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh, 1940, Pl. 93.

<sup>54</sup> "Deux bronzes antiques de Van." *Oeuvres* Vol. I, Paris, 1883. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, tirés du Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Petersburg, VI.

<sup>55</sup> W. Stasov, "Études sur les Monuments géorgiens photographiés par M. Jermakof." *Mélanges Asiatiques* Vol. VI, 1873, pp. 491-523. Cf. Brosset, *ibid.* pp. 486-490, Figs. 405-7.

<sup>56</sup> [Arch. Zeitg. 1879 = *Kleine Schriften I*, pp. 336-8, 386.—R.D.B.]

<sup>57</sup> [For references and illustrations to these pieces from Toprak Kale, which I considered to be parts of a single piece of Urartian furniture, evidently the throne of the god Haldi, see my "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale," *Iraq XII*, 1952, and "Addenda . . .", *Iraq XVI*, 1952.—R.D.B.]

<sup>58</sup> [For these, see my "Excavations . . . at Toprak Kale," *Iraq XII*, 1952.—R.D.B.]

<sup>59</sup> Presented to the Armenian Museum in 1929.

of legs of figures of both. Both the ornament from Shirak and the Oltin belt, in spite of several differences between them, are of Urartian origin. The bronze armlet from Zakim and the similar armlets from Malaklyu were also closely connected with the same centre of production. Armlets from Luristan <sup>60</sup> (Fig. 34 : 1, 3) with lion's heads are also closely related to these and belong to the same

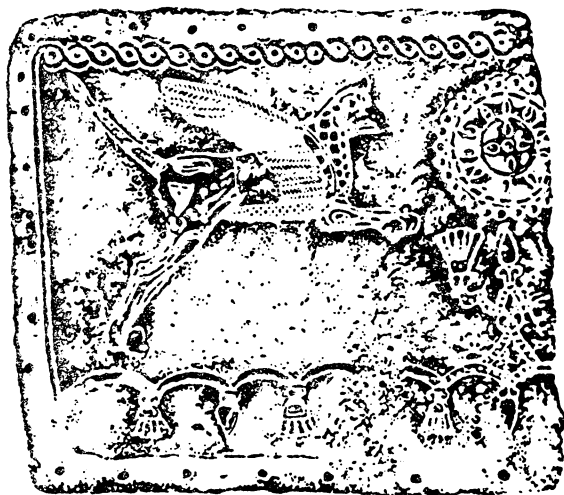


FIG. 35. Bronze plaque with figure of griffin in relief : from Shirak (Leninakan district). 1 : 2.

period. However, the latter differ in several details (upward jutting nose, round converging eyes, etc.) (Fig. 34 : 2, 4-7), and point to a different artistic centre <sup>61</sup> and an earlier stage of the development of the motif.

#### VI. *Beads from the "Columbarium"*

These were the most numerous class of grave-goods, but were found mostly at three Points : Nos. 1 (the majority), 5 and 10. They consisted of stone, glass, nephrite (?), paste and bronze, very seldom shell. Carnelian beads were found exclusively in Point 1 (ninety examples) (Fig. 36 : 30). Agate was of some importance.

(a) *Shell* consisted of single specimens from Point 1—a cowrie pierced for suspension. A semi-circular pendant, from Point 10, was made from a conical turbo-shell (Fig. 36 : 11) ; such shell pendants, about 2.5 cm. in diameter, are characteristic of a series of burials with bronze inventory of the Gandja-Karabakh and Alazan type, and are particularly similar in their dotted decoration to the pendant from the hoard of Kirkidzhan <sup>62</sup> (near Shushi) which contained "Amazon"-type adze-axes and bronze knobs, resembling those from Hachenagetke. <sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Pope, "Luristan Bronzes," *ILN.*, 6th September, 1930. [Godard, "Bronzes du Luristan" (*Ars Asiatica* XVII, Paris, 1931) Pl. XXXVII, 83.—R.D.B.]

<sup>61</sup> [The direction from which this inspiration is to be sought is not specified by the author. Assyria was most probably the common inspiration of both Luristan and Urartian armlets. See above, p. 180, n. 43.—R.D.B.]

<sup>62</sup> Hummel, "Raskopki v Nagorno-Karabakhskovo Avt. Oblasti v 1938 godu." *Izv. Azerbaidzhanskovo Fil. Ak. Nauk. S.S.S.R.*, 1939, 4, p. 80, Fig. 16.

<sup>63</sup> Rössler, "Arch. Untersuchungen in Trans-Kaukasien, 1894." *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, Verhandl., 1896, p. 103, Fig. 69.

(b) *Stone*.—Most typical were beads of agate (banded chalcedony). This was very rare in the contemporary complexes of South Caucasus, most common beads there being of carnelian. At Malaklyu carnelian beads were found only in Point 1. Agate beads greatly varied in form and size (Fig. 36 : 6, 32). The finest were those of spindle shape, 52·5–55 mm. long, from the necklace (No. 116) of Point 10 (Fig. 36 : 31, 32). Many bore traces of fire. Another type is six-sided in section (Fig. 36 : 17) : similar beads in carnelian occur north of the River Kur in Kakheti, e.g. at Bakurtsich, with bronze equipment of Alazan type. But the most frequent were agate beads of medium size, 1·5–3 cm. oblong or cylindrical, bowl-shaped (Fig. 36 : 29), e.g. from Point 1. The great agate necklace from Point 10 consisted also of coarse beads of light grey opalescent chalcedony (Fig. 36 : 3). The agate beads were most probably Iranian imports (where such occur in the Bronze Age, e.g. at Tepe Hissar III<sup>64</sup>), whereas the chalcedony specimens were of local origin.

Carnelian beads, of which ninety were found in Point 1 (Fig. 36 : 30), were most typical of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age graves of South Caucasus, and particularly in the slab-cists of the Vannic period excavated by the author at Trialeti.<sup>65</sup>

There were also beads made of some light grey veined marble-like stone, apparently alabaster (Fig. 36 : 12, 13). Such beads were also found in Mesopotamia and Iran<sup>66</sup> already in the fourth millennium B.C. and later. Finally, two beads from Point 1 were of some black hard material, and a pendant (No. 242), 21 mm. long, from the same point which was made of greenish-like mineral nephrite (Fig. 36 : 16).

(c) *Metal*.—At Malaklyu the only metal beads found were of bronze and form a link with the Colchid graves of Western Georgia containing Koban material : those from Point 1 are of various shapes. Those found in Point 10 (Fig. 36 : 6), of biconical shape up to 2 cm. long, were closely related to those from Borzhomski Pass, of the Koban period, and from Abkhazia.

(d) *Glass* were of two types (Fig. 36 : 1–4) ; one spherical from Point 10, 12–15 mm. in diameter ; and some biconical from Point 1 (Fig. 36 : 5).

(e) *Paste Beads*.—Two examples only were found in Point 1 (Fig. 36 : 22, 18). Paste beads were found in graves of the Urartian period in Trialeti,<sup>67</sup> and at Karmir-Blur. Thus beads were found mainly in Points 1 and 10 ; both were probably female burials. They differed from those of the Roman and Hellenistic periods, no coloured glass beads, nor millefiori beads nor amber beads being found. Nor do they bear any similarity to the beads of the earlier Achaemenid period.

The commonest beads at Malaklyu were of oblong shape of agate, whereas in other parts of South Caucasus beads of carnelian predominate. The latter must have been made from local supplies in various parts of the Caucasus. Both chalcedony and agate occur in Georgia. Agate beads from the "Columbarium" were not of local origin—they were imported.

<sup>64</sup> E. Schmidt, "Tepe Hissar Excavations," *Mus. Journal* XXIII, 4, 1933, pp. 434–5, r1. CXLVI.B, ff. 180.

<sup>65</sup> [Arkheologicheskie Raskopki v Trialeti, Tiflis, 1941.—R.D.B.]

<sup>66</sup> Tepe Hissar. See n. 64.

<sup>67</sup> [Kuftin, *Arkheolog. Raskopki v Trialeti* Pl. VI, 4.—R.D.B.]

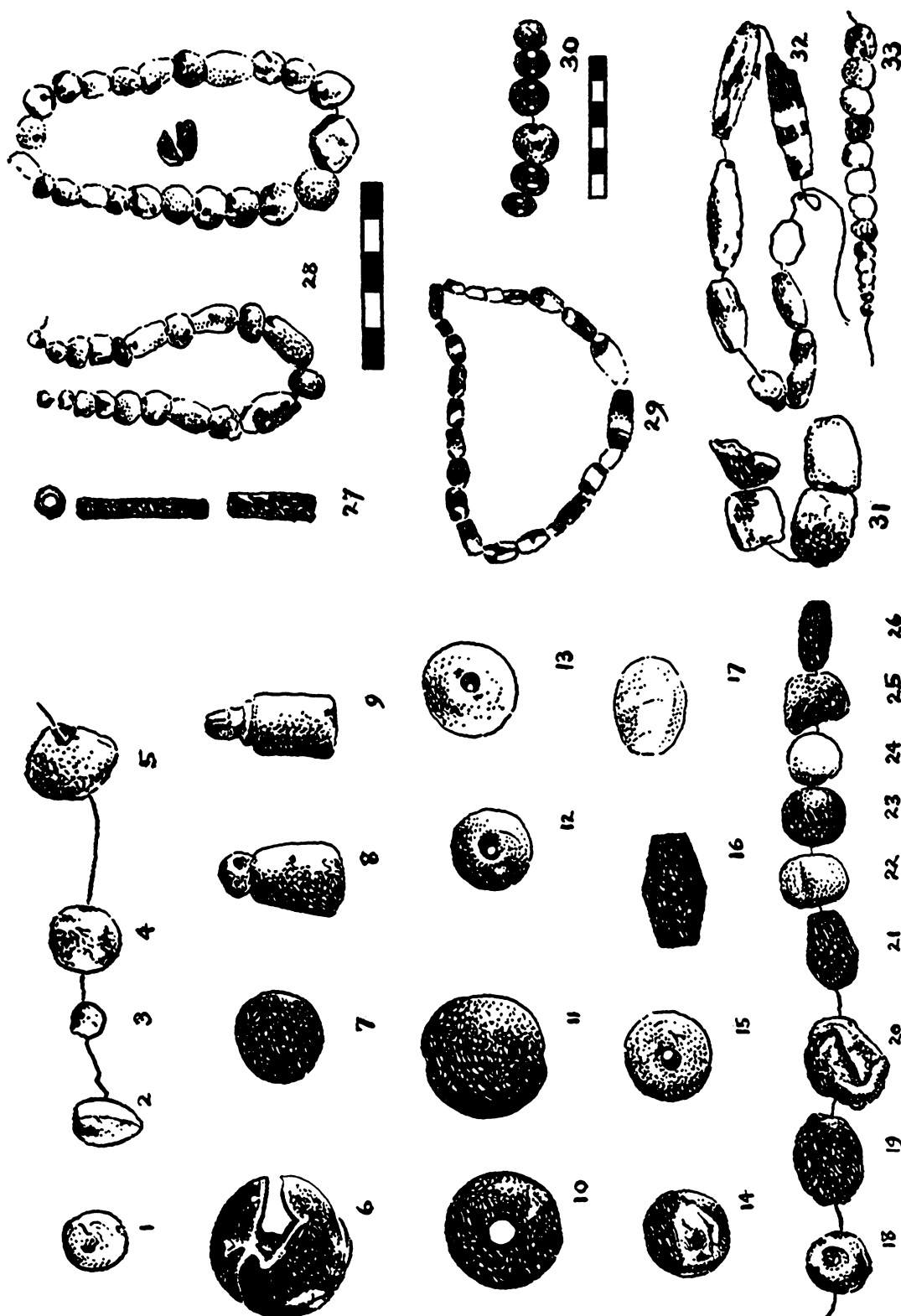


FIG. 36. Stone beads from Igdyr.

VII. *The Iron Material in the "Columbarium"*

This was mostly rusted and in fragments, consisting chiefly of knives, spear- or lance-heads, arrow-points, swords, horse-bits and also of parts of vessels and other objects of unknown purpose. Unlike the situation in other South Caucasian cemeteries of the same period (which often contain bronze objects of Koban type) here no bronze weapons were found. This iron economy is typical of the period of Urartian expansion. But a similar position occurred also at Khorsabad, where an enormous quantity of iron objects was uncovered, causing Lehmann-Haupt to suggest it was the booty from Van. At Toprak Kale only a single bronze arrow-head was found among exclusively iron weapons.

(a) *Arrow-heads* (Nos. 95 and 109), exclusively of iron (Fig. 37 : 4-7, 11), found only in Points 5 and 8, all of the same form, about 8 cm. long, plus tang. They point to the large size of the bow. In this respect these arrow-heads resemble closely those from Carchemish of the seventh century B.C.<sup>68</sup> The latter (iron arrow-heads with tang) belonged to the assaulting Assyrians, whereas the defenders had bronze "Scythian" type arrow-heads. At Karmir-Blur the position was reversed: the defenders had arrow-heads of iron, the assailants of bronze of "Scythian" type.<sup>69</sup>

(b) *Javelin or Spear-heads* (Nos. 80, 94, 106) were found in Points 3, 4, 5 and 7, all in fragments (Fig. 37 : 8, Fig. 38 : 4). All were socketed and of the same type, 15-16 cm. long, 3-5 cm. wide, with no middle rib—similar to those from Toprak Kale.<sup>70</sup>

(c) *Knives* (Fig. 38 : 6-8) (Nos. 61, 64, 78-9, 107, 142, 150), relatively frequent, all nearly of the same type and size, with thick spine and short wide tongue, similar to those from Carchemish.<sup>71</sup>

(d) *Sword* from Point 5 (Fig. 37 : 1) is of a heavy short type, hitherto unknown in South Caucasus; it is 45 cm. long, 6.5 cm. wide, with handle apparently of horn affixed with two rivets to the tang. Lehmann-Haupt<sup>72</sup> denied the use of this weapon by the Urartians because it was not mentioned by Xenophon. One such is depicted on a basalt figure from Van, now in the Georgian Museum.<sup>73</sup> Such narrow iron swords occur in the Urartian period in Southern Caucasia, and were found by de Morgan at Musi-yeri.<sup>74</sup> The sheaths of such swords were square-ended, e.g. that from Gunia-Kala (Trialeti) at Darakov, grave 40.<sup>75</sup>

(e) *Axes* (Fig. 38 : 5) from Points 3 and 6; only large fragments were found, and nothing can be said about their shape.

(f) *Bits* were also found in fragments. They were provided with rings at the end and were affixed to cheek pieces.

(g) *Mace-shaped Weapon* (?) (Fig. 38 : 1, 2): remains consisting of large discs 9-10 cm. in diameter with a socket at the centre, from Points 3 and 5.

<sup>68</sup> [C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish II* (1921), Pl. 22b.—R.D.B.]

<sup>69</sup> [v. R. D. Barnett and W. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq* XIV, 1952, Figs. 12-18.—R.D.B.]

<sup>70</sup> [v. R. D. Barnett, art. cit. *Iraq* XII (1959), p. 34, and XVI (1954), Fig. 15.—R.D.B.]

<sup>71</sup> [C. L. Woolley, op. cit., Pl. 23, 10, 11.—R.D.B.]

<sup>72</sup> "Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens," *Abh. d. k. Gesell. Wiss. zu Göttingen, ph. hist. kl.*, N.F., IX, 1907, p. 101.

<sup>73</sup> Tseretheli, *Urartskie Pamyatniki Museya Gruzii*, Tiflis, 1939, Pl. XXXI.

<sup>74</sup> [J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique au Caucase I* (1889), pp. 64-74.—R.D.B.]

<sup>75</sup> [References not given, but for this excavation, see B. Kuftin, *Archeologicheskie Raskopki v Trialeti* (Tiflis, 1941) pp. 54 ff. and 159.—R.D.B.]



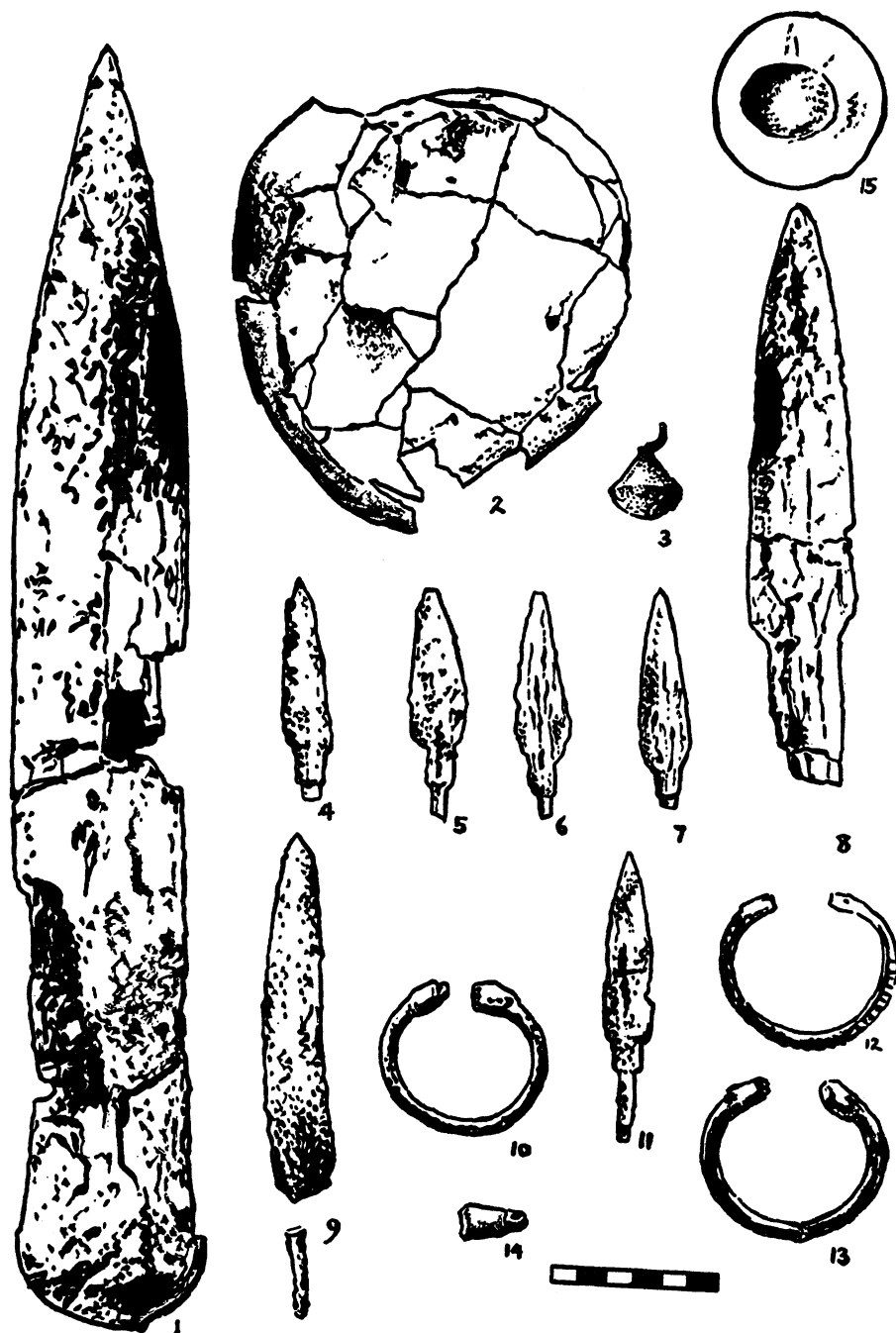


FIG. 37. Iron and bronze objects from Igdyr.

(h) *Pan from a pair of scales*, with three small chains (of the third were only traces), found together with iron fragments in Point 6. The pan was small and round, suitable only for weighing small objects, jewels.

(i) *Fragments of iron objects* of unknown purpose, among these a *round bar* widened at one end, 2.5 cm. thick (No. 119).

### VIII. Urartian Seals

Seals with zoomorphic subjects found in Points 1, 5 and 10, were of two types :

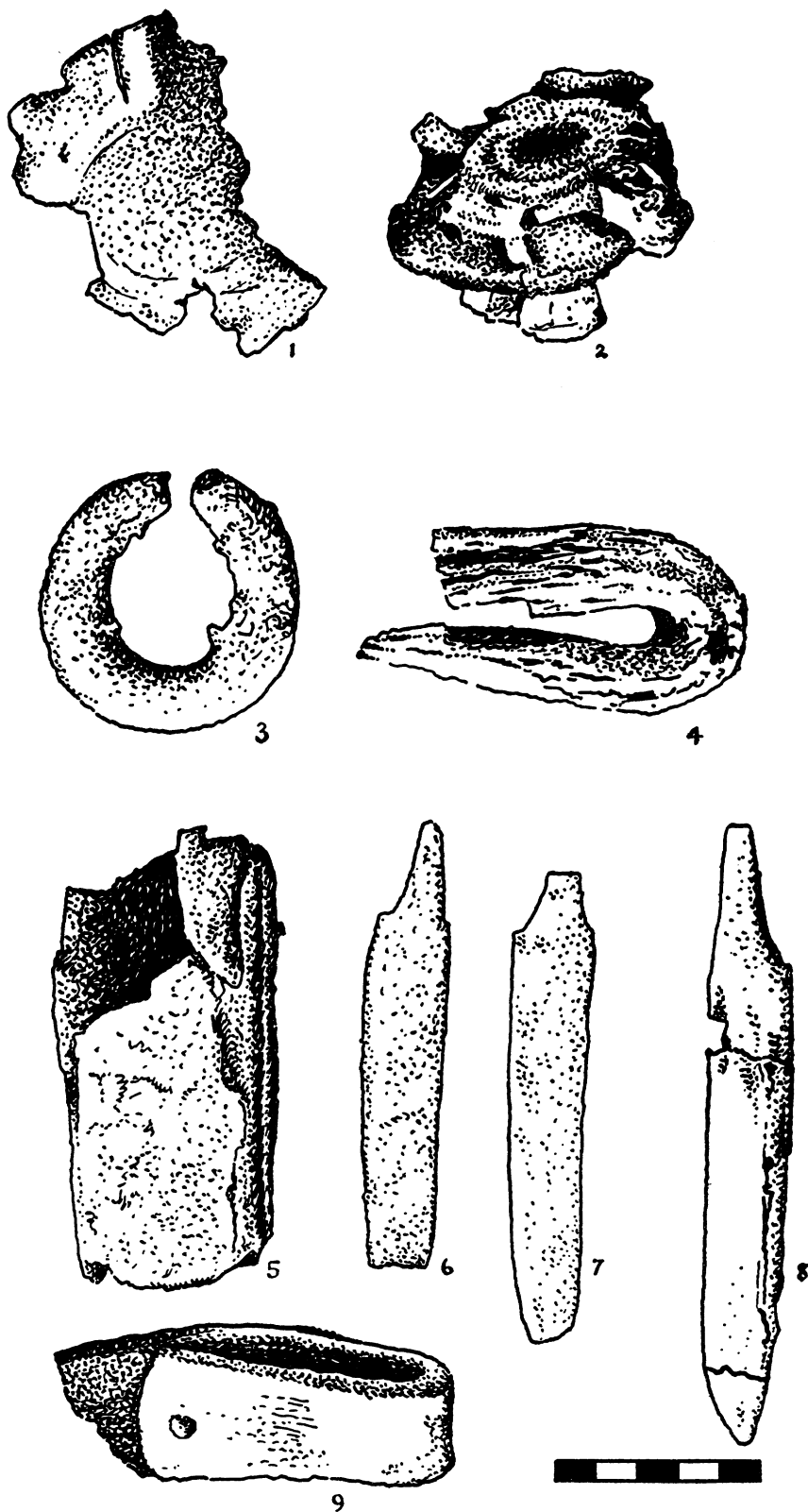


FIG. 38. Iron objects from Igdyr.

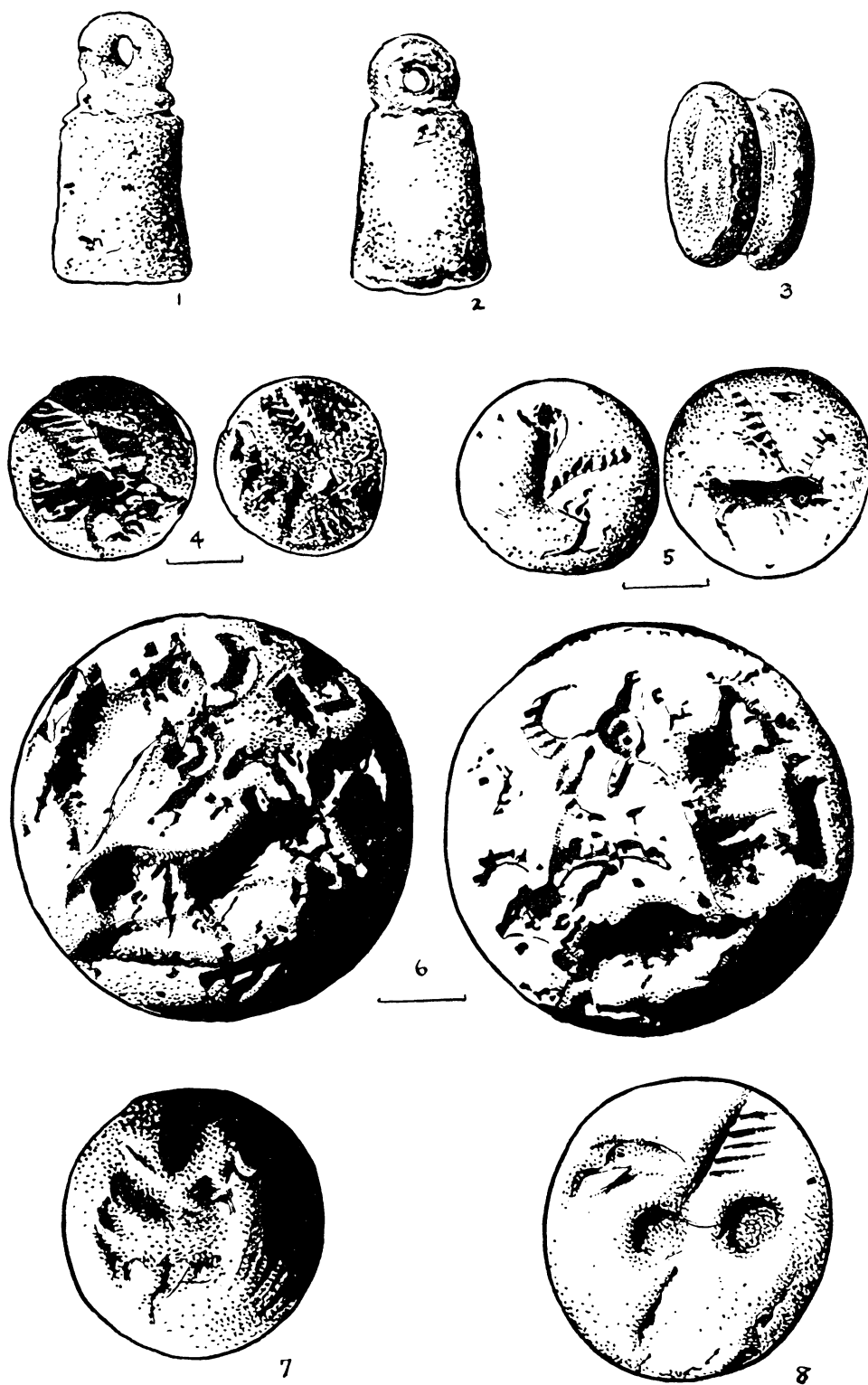


FIG. 39. Urartian seals and impressions from Igdyr (1-6) and seals from Kelankran (7-8).

either flat-cylindrical, i.e. stamp-seals, or high cylindrical, i.e. stamp-cylinders (Fig. 39), with a ring. Both are seldom found in Oriental glyptic. Whereas the first is derived from Iran (Tepe-Hissar I), the other has Anatolian and Aegean origins.

(a) *Stamp Seal* made of black stone (Fig. 36 : 7 ; Fig. 39 : 3, 5), 18 mm. in diameter, 5 mm. thick, found in Point 1 ; but may be older than the grave. It represents a bird, the drawing, especially on one side, being very schematic.

(b) *Stamp Cylinder* of baked clay (Fig. 39 : 1, Fig. 36 : 9) found in Point 5 ; 2.4 cm. high, 1.3 cm. in diameter, with a design of a griffin-bird with a lion-head (Fig. 39 : 4, Fig. 40 : 1). An exactly similar seal impression was found on a clay tablet from Toprak Kale (Fig. 40 : 2), which indicates the Urartian origin of the seal from Malaklyu.

(c) *Stamp Cylinder* of light-coloured stone from Points 10-12 (Fig. 36 : 8 and Fig. 39 : 2, 6), 2.2 cm. high, 1.5 cm. in diameter. The design represents two mountain goats seated, turned back to back (*tête-bêche*). The shape of this seal is almost identical with the last, indicating its Vannic origin. It also introduces a new naturalistic motif into our knowledge of Urartian glyptic.<sup>76</sup>

Four more seals from South Caucasus were published by B. B. Piotrovsky, all found in Armenian S.S.R., and now in the Armenian Museum (Fig. 40 : 3, 4), originated from the fortress of Kelankran (Tsovenara) ; they much resemble the stamp-cylinders from Malaklyu, but one bears on the side a drawing of a griffin. Both seals have on their bases griffin figures similar to those from Malaklyu. The third seal is from Nor-Bayazed, and is similar to the first from Malaklyu, having a lion-figure. The fourth seal is from excavations at Mukhanat-Tepe,<sup>77</sup> but of it only a fragment with a bird-figure remains.

Two more unpublished seals are at the Hermitage, both from Armavir ; one of these is a large stamp-cylinder (Fig. 40 : 8). It has on its sides two rows of bulls (?) and resembles a seal of the fourth millennium B.C. at Berlin (V.A. 612).<sup>77</sup> The second seal from Armavir has a griffin with a goat's head (Fig. 40 : 7) and is similar to one found at Toprak Kale<sup>78</sup> (ibid. 6).

This study reveals the existence of an Urartian glyptic differing both from that from Assyria and the whole Western Asiatic glyptic. The differences are due to racial differences in that part of Asia, as is shown by the geographical diffusion of the two main types of seals. Stamp seals probably were made independently in various parts of this large territory, but the stamp-cylinders originated evidently in a single centre. (A discussion follows concerning the development of the two types of seals since the fourth millennium B.C.)

No seals have been recorded in Transcaucasia although they have been found in the Northern Caucasus. A haematite seal of the type of Hurrian seals from Kerkuk was published by P. S. Uvarova<sup>79</sup> as Assyrian. It was also published by Ward.<sup>80</sup> Its appearance in a North Ossetian cemetery remains an unsolved problem. N. D. Flittner<sup>81</sup> suggested that it shows cultural connections between

<sup>76</sup> B. B. Piotrovsky, "Urartu i Zakavkaz'e," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Inst. Ist. Mat. Kultury* 1940, p. 33, Fig. 9.

<sup>77</sup> Otto Weber, "Altorientalische Siegelbilder," *Der Alte Orient* XVII-XVIII, 1920, p. 5, Fig. 11.

<sup>78</sup> Lehmann-Haupt, "Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens," *Abh. d. k. Gesell. Wiss. zu Göttingen, ph. hist. kl., N.F.*, Bd. IX, 1907, p. 105.

<sup>79</sup> "Mogilniki Severnovo Kavkaza," *Mat. po Arkh. Kavkaza* VIII, 1900, p. 32, Pl. 127, Fig. 47.

<sup>80</sup> *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* 1910, p. 305, Fig. 955.

<sup>81</sup> "Siro-khetskies pamyatniki Ermitazha," *Trudy Otdyela Vostoka Gos. Ermit.* Vol. I (1939), pp. 21-42.

the Hurrian-Mitannian sub-stratum and the Scythian world of the Melgunov Treasure via Urartu.

The present group of Urartian seals indicates that in Transcaucasia the ancient Western Asiatic glyptic survived independently of Assyrian influence up to the first millennium B.C. [A long discussion of the development of Anatolian and Western Asiatic glyptic since the third millennium B.C. follows, and some similarities between

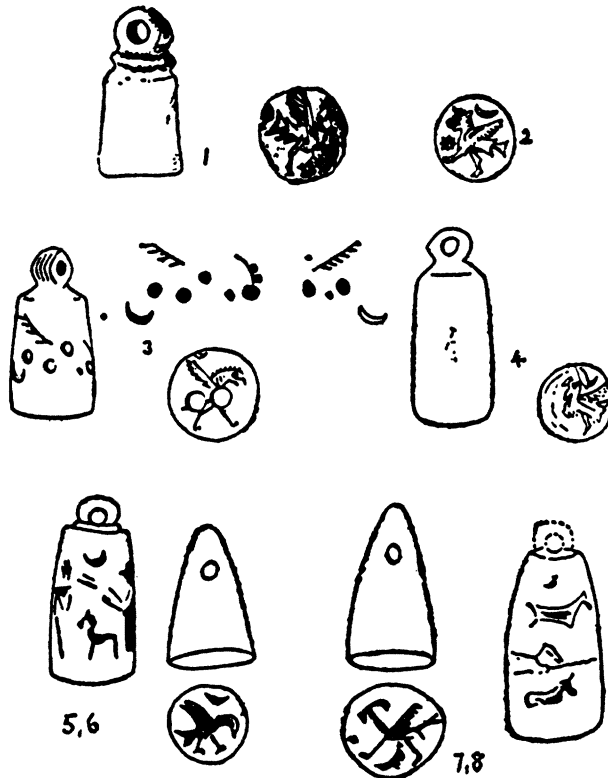


FIG. 40. Stamp-cylinders (about 2:3).

1. Clay seal with impression, from Igdyr.
2. Impression on clay tablet from Toprak Kale.
- 3, 4. Stone seals from Tsovenara (Kelankran fortress).
- 5, 6. Stone seals from Haikaberd and Toprakkale.
- 7, 8. Stone seals from Armavir-Blur.

these and the seals from Malaklyu are pointed out, especially in regard to those from Cappadocia.]

An independent development of Urartian seals is also indicated by the appearance (with the animals) of crescents or stars on the seals of Malaklyu and Toprak Kale. No such devices appear on the Anatolian stamp-seals, although they are found on the cylinder-seals which, during the third millennium B.C., penetrated into Asia Minor from Northern Mesopotamia.

On the other hand, the crescent and stars were very popular up to the end of the Sassanian period on the stamp-seals of the sixth century B.C. in the eastern region of Irano-Mesopotamian territory.

Many Sassanian seals retained archaic traditions of Elam and in their character are closely related to those from Urartu, in spite of the difference in

the type of the seal itself. The drawings of the seals from Malaklyu treat the animals basically in the same manner as those of Elam of the turn of the third/fourth millennium B.C.

At Malaklyu the goat plays the same part as the goat on the Mesopotamian cylinder-seals, and the Syrian and Cypriot seals derived from them: viz. it is an attribute of a deity, often its emblem and substitute. The ancient theme of the sacred tree between two upright goats appears on some Sassanian seals.<sup>82</sup> But on these the goat is generally differently represented. Arrows often stick in the goat's neck—a link with the cult of some hunting deity. A hunting scene may also be implied on the seal from Malaklyu: a similar representation may be quoted on an Achaemenid seal found near Erzerum bearing an Aramaic-Persian inscription, connected with Mithridates. It shows a seated mountain goat and above it a dog instead of the other goat. On the reverse side of the seal is a boar.<sup>83</sup>

The griffin on the Urartian seals is not the Western Asiatic griffin (a winged lion with a bird's head); instead, the seals from Malaklyu, Armavir and Toprak Kale show vice versa a bird with a horned lion's, goat's or stag's head. They recall the goat- or lion-headed bird found on Sassanian gems, but also local prototypes of these of an earlier date, which go back to Sumerian representations, e.g. the coat-of-arms of Lagash.

The motif of the bird-lion with a horn on the head often occurs among many lion-representations already in the proto-Elamite glyptic, in the late Assyrian art, and in the reliefs of Tell-Halaf, which come already close to our Urartian representations.

Thus the griffin of the Urartian seals appeared independently of the Assyrian, Aegean and Asia Minor forms; the occurrence of the bird-headed lion (Fig. 35) on the Shirak plaque is exceptional, though it is rooted in the ancient Oriental lion-headed bird of South Mesopotamia and Elamite art.

The walking bird with raised wings on the Urartian seals must be connected with some Western influence. Birds on Elamite, Sumerian and Babylonian monuments were differently represented: e.g. eagles with symmetrical spread wings. On the other hand, Syro-Hittite glyptic shows single- or double-headed eagles usually—on the local cylinders, walking in profile with the wings raised, similar to the Aegean birds and that from Malaklyu.

The block-like shape of the Malaklyu stamp-cylinder, with a bird like those from Nor-Bayazed,<sup>84</sup> is paralleled only in the low level of Tepe Hissar, although the seals from there have only simple geometric ornament.

That our seals are derived from Eastern prototypes is shown by many survivals of the early designs, executed in the ancient Elamite technique with the bow-drill. [The characteristic features and those of the technique in which they were executed, connecting our seals with those of the earlier period, are again summarised.]

The group of the Urartian seals from Malaklyu thus represents a genuine local type of flat disc seal, which survived two and a half millennia during which the other, cylinder-seal type was the leading type in Western Asia. It points to the strength of the ancient local tradition, which was able to survive the strong Assyrian influence.

<sup>82</sup> V. Horn, "Sassanidische Gemmen aus dem Brit. Mus.," *ZDMG.* 1890, Vol. 44, p. 666, No. 624, Pl. 16.

<sup>83</sup> O. Blau, "Ueber einen aramäisch-persischen Siegelstein," *ZDMG.* 1864, pp. 299-300.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst u. Jetzt* I, p. 358, and Vol. II, 2, p. 583.

### 3. THE PLACE OF THE "COLUMBARIUM" IN TRANSCAUCASIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. CHARACTER OF THE INVENTORY.

The above study has shown that the inventory of "Columbarium" does not fit into the Achaemenian period nor that succeeding it. Its pottery—with the well-polished red slip—corresponds with that of Toprak Kale and Armavir (the Urartian city of Argišti-hinili <sup>85</sup>), but it also is rooted in the ancient local traditions. The three seals found there establish the date: the period of the Vannic expansion into the Southern Caucasus.

There is also an evident difference between the "Columbarium" grave-goods from those of other contemporary South Caucasian cemeteries: agate beads instead of carnelian; red-polished pottery instead of dark-brownish or black; many more deep metal vessels, but no bronze personal ornaments except lion-headed armlets, exclusively iron weapons, and cremation burials in urns instead of cist or shaft graves. All these features point to an alien population originating from the region of Lake Van, the Urartians.

The only North Ossetian, i.e. Koban item, apart from a few beads, is the remains of the bronze situla. It both supports the early date of the "Columbarium" and helps to date more precisely the Koban bronzes and throws light on contacts between Urartu and the Colchid culture, and related finds: Artvin,<sup>86</sup> Poshkov-Tchay,<sup>87</sup> the only ones from the Kars region and Tao-Klardjet.<sup>88</sup> The end of the Colchidic culture with its developed bronze industry was thus contemporary with the Urartian period, in which in the ancient Orient iron weapons drove out those of bronze. Jacques de Morgan was thus wrong in placing the origin and distinction of the iron industry in the Caucasus. The large series of fine bronze objects of the Koban-Colchidic type found in Georgia were evidently of the seventh century B.C.

The question remains whether the find at Malaklyu of bronze situla-fragments of Koban-Colchidic type indicates that these objects were of Urartian origin (such situlae being also found in the Ukraine), or whether the centre of their production was there in Western Georgia, where many have been found. It seems most probable on stylistic grounds that the situlae were of Georgian origin, that the specimen from Malaklyu was the only object of local provenience found with an entirely alien inventory.

### 4. THE RITE OF CREMATION

Cremation burial in urns is a rite wholly alien to South Caucasus. Some authors have connected it with the Romans, but the date of the "Columbarium" contradicts such a supposition. The burning was done there in the absence of forests, with fuel of dung-bricks. This is shown by total absence of wood ash. Bodies were burned clothed, wearing ornaments, e.g. beads which were found in urns, though weapons and bracelets were put in burial after burning. All urns were of the same type—handleless round vessels with a narrow neck, with red polished surface, covered with a saucer made of the same clay, base upwards. Sometimes an additional cover was provided by a copper saucer over that of clay. The urns were provided with a hole at one side bored after the vessels were made, but before the ashes were inserted. The urns were thus not a special sepulchral

<sup>85</sup> Nikolski, "Klinoobraznye nadpisi Zakavkazya," *Mat. po Arkh. Kavkaza* V, 1896, pp. 34-7.

<sup>86</sup> Bittel, *Türk Tarih* 1933, I, pp. 130-156.

<sup>87</sup> Jessen, *Izv. Goz. Akad. Ist. Mat. Kult.* 120, pp. 139-140.

<sup>88</sup> Ushakov, *Tao-Klardjetia v Kontse IX i v VIII veke*, pp. 169-172.

pottery, but were pierced with holes apparently for the soul to emerge. Pots without ashes had no hole.

Too little is known of Urartian customs for us to know whether the cremation rite at Malaklyu was characteristic of them. Whereas it was widespread in Mesopotamia and Syria, it was completely unknown in South Caucasus, being recorded only in the Ganja-Karabakh barrow-graves. Cremation was already in use in Central Europe in the Neolithic period, but it was still earlier in Mesopotamia and Syria: e.g. in a large Sumerian cremation cemetery at Nippur.<sup>89</sup> In Akkadian Uruk it also occurred.<sup>90</sup> Partial cremation was recorded at Ur and ancient Assur. At Gezer in Palestine cremation was recorded in the Neolithic levels and also by Schliemann in Troy I.<sup>91</sup> The ritual is also described in Boghaz Köy tablets,<sup>92</sup> and in the Iliad (XXIII, 290-4) in the burial of Patrochlos. Cremation burials have been found in North Syria at Carchemish from 1000 B.C., the custom being abandoned by the sixth century B.C.

Cremations were found at Tell-Halaf in the royal graves of the Kapara period.<sup>93</sup>

The above facts imply the very great age of cremation ritual in Western Asia prior to the appearance of the Semitic peoples, and its survival and revival among the Hurrian-Mitannian peoples at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.<sup>94</sup> This is the period of the rise of the Urartian kingdom and the period of the cemetery of Malaklyu. Cremation at Malaklyu differed from the other burials in its ritual and grave-goods, in particular its beads, though, on the other hand, seals and pottery were of Urartian origin. This was probably a local woman, wife of a newcomer, buried with her children according to the local custom, but outside the proper cremation cemetery.

\* \* \*

[That the Igdyr urn-field was not the only example of its kind, indeed, that cremation was probably a normal burial custom of the Urartians, as Kuftin said, is again shown by its occurrence in a small group of tombs similar to those of Igdyr recently discovered at Nor Aresh, a village on the outskirts of Erevan and reported only in an Armenian periodical.<sup>95</sup> Here, three cremation burials containing Urartian metal ornamental equipment were recently found and recorded.

Tomb I consisted of two pots, one of them, the burial urn, being of red ware; they were "surrounded by small stones" and bronze objects—a belt decorated with incised friezes showing hunters, lions and a bull hunt from horseback (Fig. 41), a fibula of unusually Greek-looking type (Fig. 42),<sup>96</sup> two stamp seals, one in form of a horse-head, bearing a design of griffins and a seated figure, the other a stamp seal with a seated divinity and worshipper; a lunate neck ornament

<sup>89</sup> Contenau, *Manuel d'Arch. Or.* I, 1931, p. 83.

<sup>90</sup> Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* p. 158.

<sup>91</sup> Bittel, *Prähist. Forschungen in Kleinasien* 1934, p. 29.

<sup>92</sup> Bittel, *MDOG.* 75, 1937, pp. 14-18, 68 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Oppenheim, *Der Tell-Halaf* 1931, p. 195.

<sup>94</sup> [The use of cremation in the Near East is further discussed by P. J. Riis, *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches 1931-1938* II, 3, 1948, pp. 37-46.—R.D.B.]

<sup>95</sup> H. Martirosyan and H. Mnaçakanyan, "Nor-Areši Urartakan Kolumbarium" [The Urartian Columbarium of Nor Aresh], *Teghegagir.* (= *Izvestiya*), published by the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian S.S.R. (Erivan), Vol. 10 (1958), pp. 63-84. For the reference to this article, I owe many thanks to Mr. Christopher Horne, C.B.E., and to Rev. W. C. H. Driessen for supplying a brief summary of it.

<sup>96</sup> It is closest to Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales* (Danske Vidensk. Selskab, hist. fil. medd. XIII, 1, 1926), types IV, 2-8.



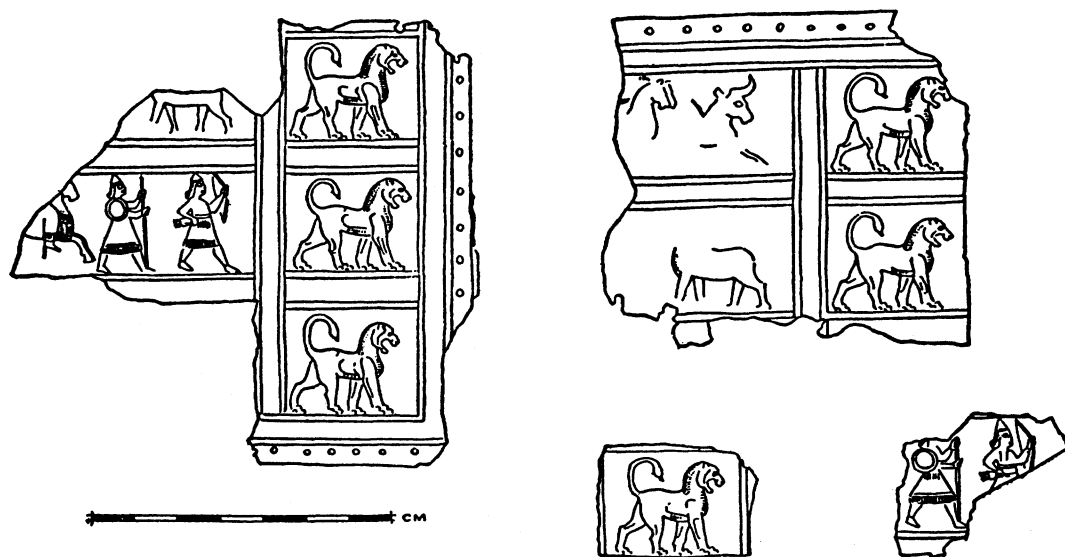


FIG. 41. Bronze belt fragments from Tomb I, Nor-Aresh.

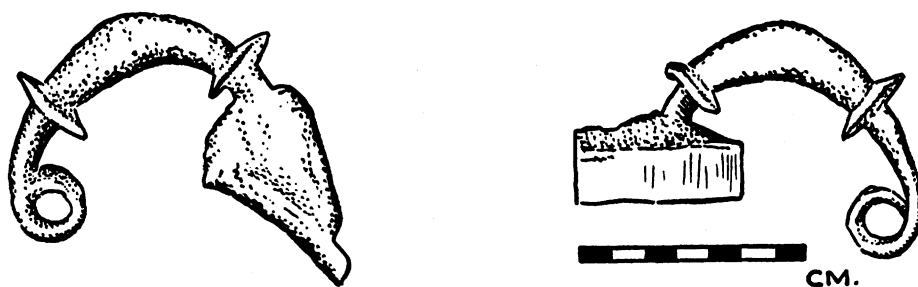


FIG. 42. Fibula from Tomb I, Nor-Aresh.

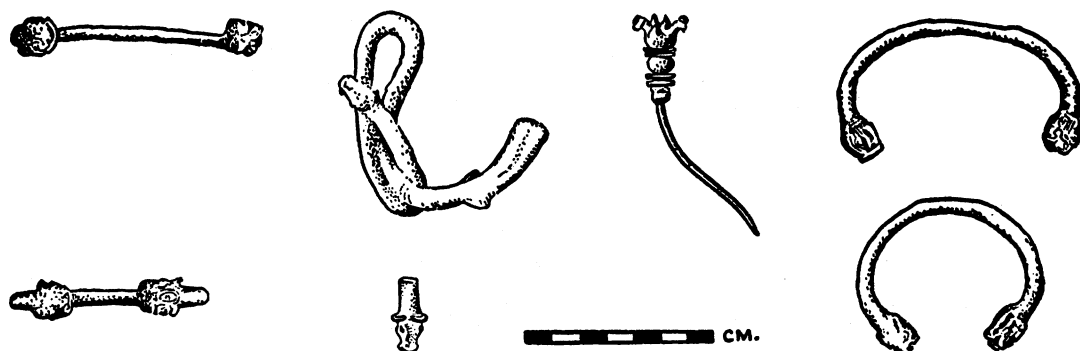


FIG. 43. Ornaments from Nor-Aresh.

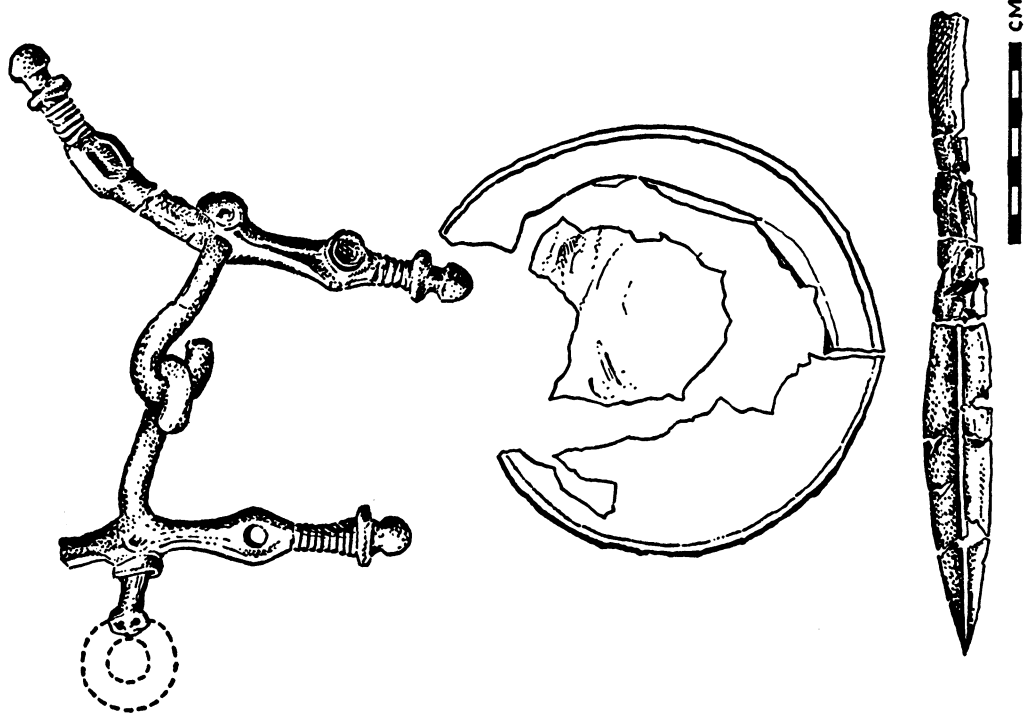


FIG. 45. Metal objects from Tomb I, Nor-Aresh.

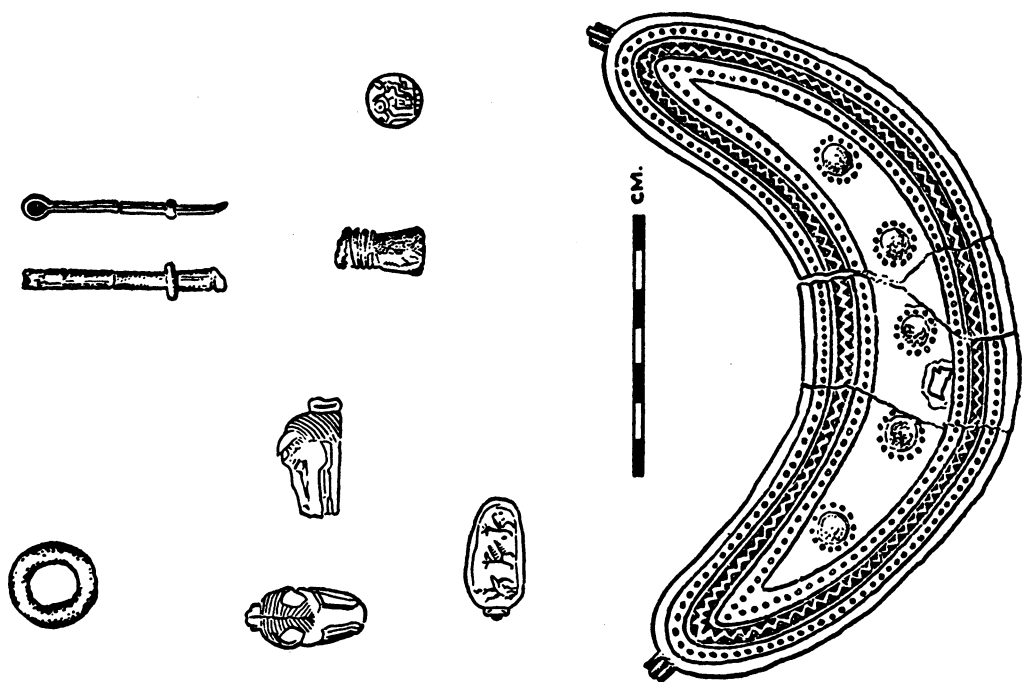


FIG. 44. Objects from Tomb I, Nor-Aresh.

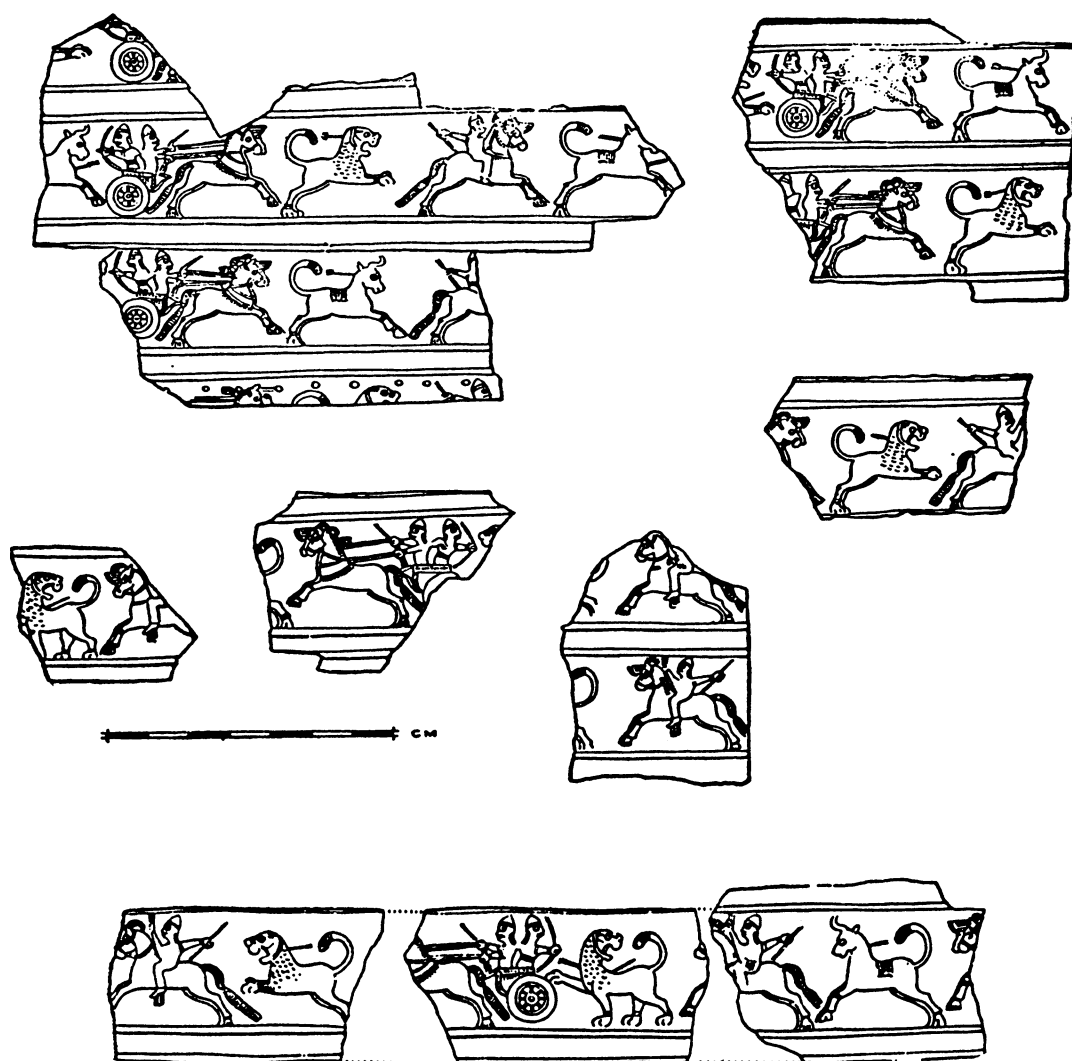


FIG. 46. Tomb II, Nor-Aresh. Fragments of bronze belts.

with zig-zag patterns and dotted circles (Fig. 44), a horse-bit, a spear-head and a disc (Fig. 45).

Tomb II also contained red ware sherds, and the mouth of the urn was sealed with a piece of yellow tufa. Around it were small stones and a fragment of a bronze belt with decoration in the form of friezes of hunting scenes of lions and bulls (Fig. 46).

Tomb III was destroyed, but at its centre remained red ware, sherds and a flat stone [probably the stopper of the urn] and fragments of a bronze belt with friezes of hunting scenes of bulls and designs of griffins and sphinxes, and "sacred trees" (Fig. 47).

These were evidently soldiers' tombs, and may be dated to the same period as the Igdyr cemetery, the second half of the seventh century B.C. The belts are

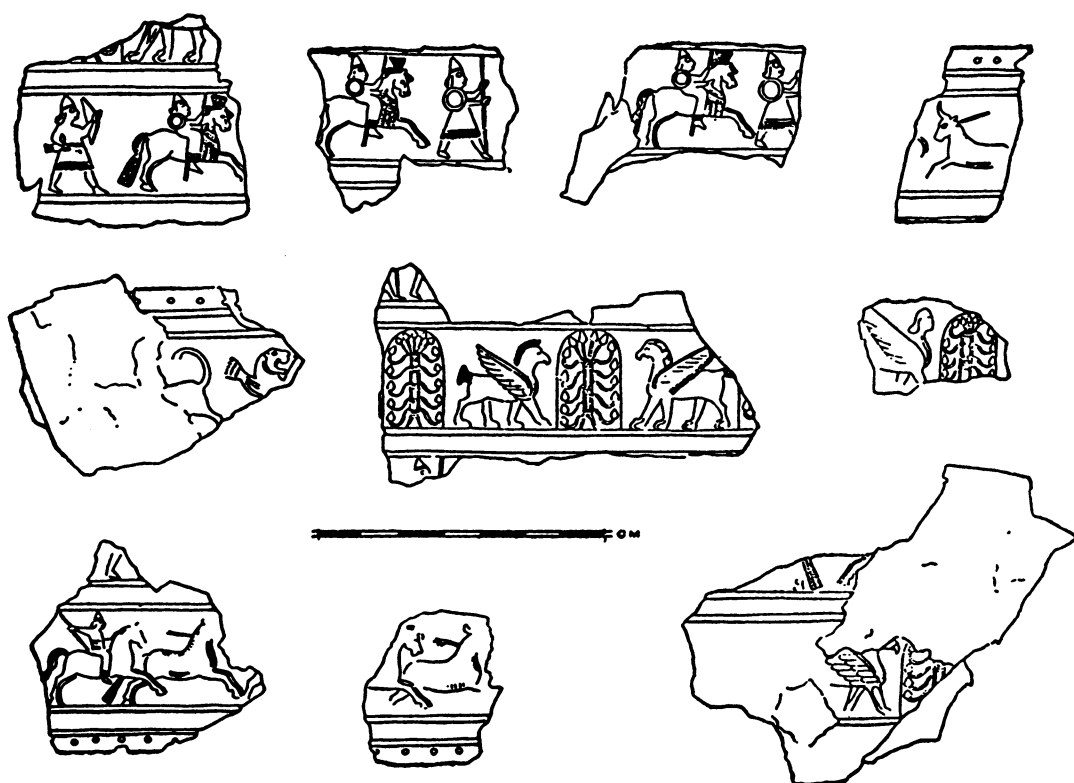


FIG. 47. Fragments of bronze belt from Tomb III, Nor-Aresh.



Fig. 48. Urartian belt from Gushchi.

of particular interest to compare with the Transcaucasian examples bearing barbaric imitations of similar hunting scenes such as that from Maral Deresi.<sup>97</sup>

On the other hand, we have burials in coffins of the royal class at Altuntepe, near Erzincan,<sup>98</sup> who were laid in subterranean stone-built chamber tombs.—R.D.B.]

<sup>97</sup> C. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie Comparée et la Chronologie de l'Asie Occidentale* (1948) Fig. 275.

<sup>98</sup> Barnett and Gökçe, loc. cit. Tahsin Özgüç, "Altuntepe Kazıları," *Belleten*, April 1961.



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Xenophon and the Wall of Media

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# XENOPHON AND THE WALL OF MEDIA

(PLATES I-III)

How many miles to Babylon?  
Three-score miles and ten.  
Can I get there by candle-light?  
Yes, and back again.

*Nursery Rhyme.*

IN February of 401 B.C., Xenophon, the Athenian, set out in a contingent of ten thousand Greek mercenaries in the army of Cyrus, the Pretender to the throne of Persia. Cyrus, in fact, was leading the army against his brother Artaxerxes, the Great King of Persia, though the real object of the expedition was not revealed officially until the army reached Thapsacus on the Euphrates in July and crossed the river from Syria into Mesopotamia. Xenophon joined the expedition more or less as a diplomatic attaché, not a soldier. But he became an observer and critic, and, since he was a man of talents, he was driven by self-preservation and by disasters which befell them in the end, virtually to take command.<sup>1</sup> His account of these events was not published or written till many years had elapsed: but it is clear that it must have been based on a regularly kept log or diary.

The geographical problems which Xenophon's report of their itinerary raises have occupied scholars and travellers for nearly two hundred years, the earliest attempt to identify the sites mentioned by him being that of d'Anville in 1779.<sup>2</sup> For this long history of an unsettled problem, the reasons are that, firstly, we still know little from cuneiform sources about the ancient geography of Central Mesopotamia, and as yet no monograph exists which studies Babylonia in this period; secondly, that the record of Xenophon, though invaluable, is bedevilled occasionally by false reports or inadequate or misunderstood data, or possibly by errors in transmission of the text; and in our own time, progress has been held up by insufficient study of the ground, in particular of the ancient courses of the Euphrates and Tigris and the canals that fed them—and finally, by the inadequate use of aerial photography.

Xenophon's record is, however, reasonably reliable when he is speaking from personal observation or experience, and not from a hearsay report. A more general form of inexactitude in his account derives from our uncertainty as to the length of the parasang in which most of his distances are given. The *parasang*, the Persian measure of distance, was, properly speaking, like many Oriental measurements, somewhat elastic. The parasang was obviously modelled on the Babylonian measure of distance called *bēru*, or 'double-hour', which, it is said, was a distance of 3.738 miles in the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>3</sup> As Layard wrote in 1853:<sup>4</sup>

'The Parasang, like its representative the modern Farsang or Farsakh of Persia, was not a measure of distance very accurately determined, but rather indicated a certain amount of time employed in traversing a given space. Travellers are well aware that the Persian Farsakh varies considerably according to the nature of the country, and

[This paper was originally given to the Society of Antiquaries of London on December 8, 1959. It owes much to the advice and encouragement of Professor Albrecht Goetze, of Yale University.]

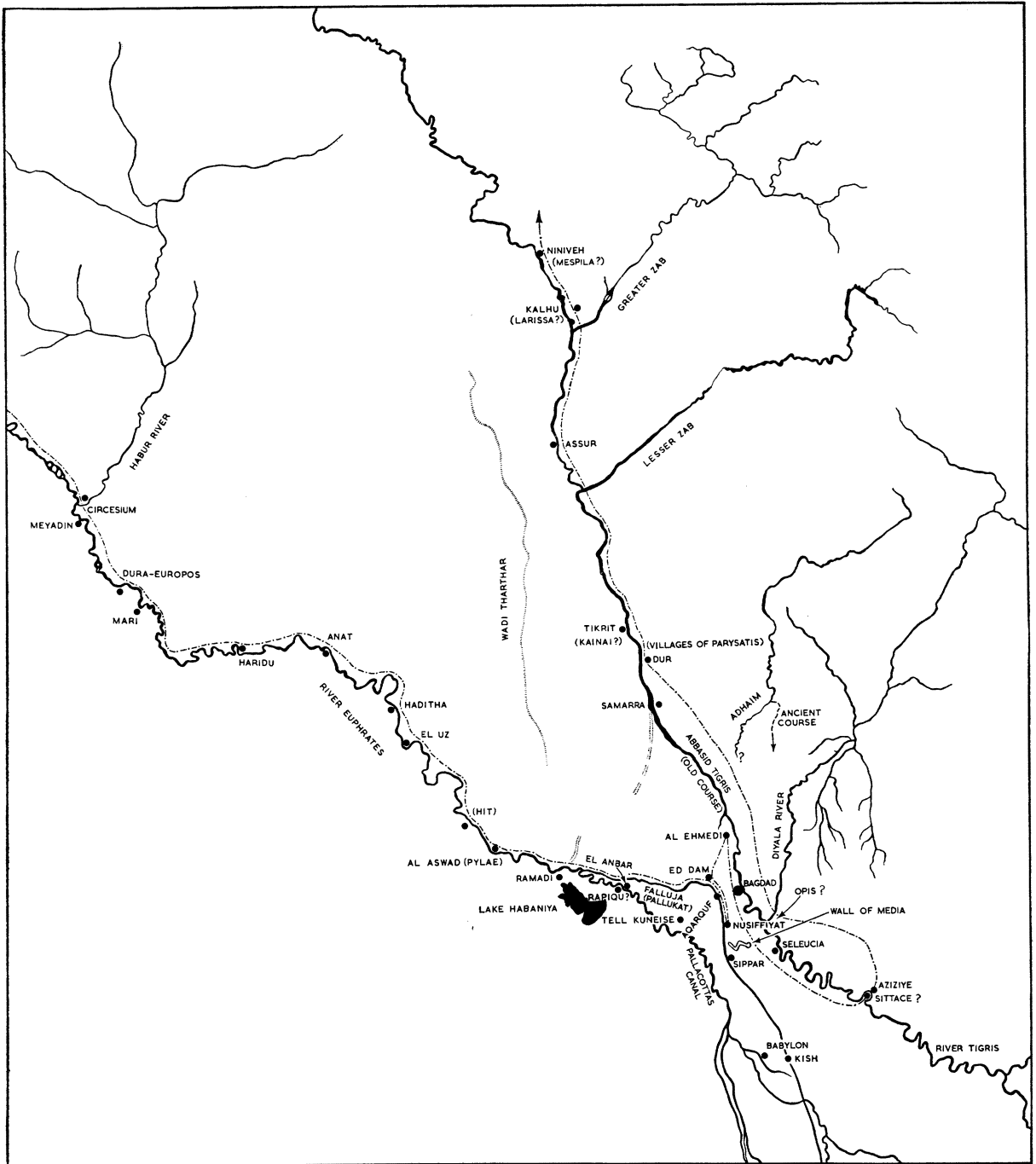
*Anabasis*, see F. Dürrbach, 'L'Apologie de Xenophon dans l'Anabase', *REG* 1893 343-86.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Euphrate et le Tigre* (Paris, 1779).

<sup>3</sup> E. F. Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* xvi (1952) 19-20; Thureau-Dangin, 'Numération et métrologie sumérienne', *Revue Assyriologique* xviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853) 59-60.

<sup>1</sup> For an interesting discussion of the motives for, and circumstances attending, the publication of the



## MAP

Showing route of the Ten Thousand and defences between Ramadi (Umm Raus) and Samarra.

the usual modes of conveyance adopted by its inhabitants. In the plains of the Khorassan and Central Persia, where mules and horses are chiefly used by caravans, it is equal to about four miles, whilst in the mountainous regions of Western Persia, where the roads are difficult and precipitous, and Mesopotamia and Arabia, where camels are the common beasts of burden, it scarcely amounts to three. The *farsakh* and the hour are almost invariably used as expressing the same distance. That Xenophon reckoned by the common mode of computation of the country is evident by his employing, almost always, the Persian "Parasang" instead of the Greek Stadium; and that the "Parasang" was the same as the modern hour in the reckoning of the natives.'

So, too, Colonel Leake<sup>5</sup> pointed out:

'As the ancients had no portable instrument for measuring portions of a day, and could not ascertain the rate per hour, a day's journey was the most exact measure of distance, both by sea and land; though few distances thus reported have reached us, because ancient Geographers and Historians aiming at greater precision have converted the days into stades, and by reporting these without mentioning the number of days, have generally given us instead of a fact, the result of an uncertain calculation.'

It is therefore difficult to know, except approximately, what distance is meant by the elastic term of a parasang, but it was in *these regions* probably about three miles and three-quarters for a small force or group.

Further, it can be estimated that the army's average day's march was 5·7 parasangs a day between Ephesus and Cunaxa, after that, slightly more. The route down the valley of the Euphrates is fairly well known from itineraries of various dates, and its principal stages can be established, and in several cases, followed from Assyrian<sup>6</sup> to imperial Roman times, during the whole of which period Aramaic was the local language (see next page).

*The Approaches.* We take up Xenophon's story at the point where the invading army of Cyrus is crossing at Thapsacus (to be located at Meskene) the Euphrates into Mesopotamia.<sup>8</sup> From Thapsacus there was, Xenophon says, a march of nine days, representing a distance of 50 parasangs, until they reached the River Araxes, identifiable as the Habur, flowing into the Euphrates 20 miles below the modern Deir-ez-Zor, near the ancient Sirku (Circesium). Instead of Haboras, the proper and ancient name of the Habur, he uses Araxes, which seems to be that of a canal, now called Dawrin, running from the Habur to the Euphrates, where the name is still preserved at the exit of this canal by the site named al Erzi or Arasi.<sup>9</sup>

From the Habur River, the army marched down the left bank of the Euphrates through the desert territory lying between Assyria and Babylonia, for five days' march, a distance of 35 parasangs. The desert abounded in wild life—wild asses, ostriches, bustards and gazelles (some of which they hunted and ate, except the ostriches which they could not catch), until they reached a deserted city of great size called Korsote, at the junction of the Euphrates with the River Maskas,<sup>10</sup> which surrounds the city. Korsote has been

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* ix 9.

<sup>6</sup> One of the most detailed and interesting of these is the Assyrian itinerary of King Tukulti-Ninurta II (824 B.C.) who struck down the Wadi Tharthar into Babylonia, then making west to the region of the Tigris below Samarra, then via Dürkurigalzu marched south to Sippar, then home via the Euphrates. (Luckenbill, *Annals of Assyria* i § 407-8; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927) 199-204.)

<sup>8</sup> i 4.11. The location of Thapsacus (meaning 'a ford', from the Semitic root *ṣṣḥ* 'to pass') is disputed, but seems to have been at Samûma (Meskenê) at the

great bend of the Euphrates. See Pauly-Wiss s.v. *Θάψακος*. Others place it at Raqqa (Nikephorion). The arguments of W. J. Farrell (*JHS* lxxxi (1961) 153-5) for placing it at Carchemish are unconvincing. The distance of Thapsacus from Babylon is given by Eratosthenes (Strabo ii 1.22, 29) as 4800 stadia or 600 miles.

<sup>9</sup> Musil, *op. cit.*, 221, followed by Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Baghouz, l'ancienne Corsôte* (Leiden, 1948). The Dawrin canal is the Saocoras river of Ptolemy: Musil, 340.

<sup>10</sup> i 5.4.



<i>Assyrian sources</i>	<i>Parasangs (from Thapsacus)</i>	<i>Xenophon</i>	<i>Schoeni</i>	<i>Isidore of Charax (first century B.C.)*</i>	<i>Ptolemy (second century A.D.)</i>	<i>Ammianus Marcellinus (fourth century A.D.)</i>	<i>Modern</i>
				<i>Νικηφόριον</i>	<i>Νικηφόριον</i>		Rakka
			4	<i>Γαλαβάθα, κώμη ἔρημος</i>			Kuleibat Hama
			1	<i>Χουμβανή, κώμη</i>			
Marrata			4	<i>Θιλλάδα Μιρράδα</i>	<i>Θέλδα</i>		Marrat
			—	<i>Βασίλεια, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν. Σεμιράμιδος διῶρυς</i>			
			4	<i>Ἀλλάν, κωμόπολις</i>			
			4	<i>Βηοναν, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν</i>	<i>Βεθαῦνα</i>		
			6	<i>Φάλιγα κώμη</i>	<i>Φάργα</i>		
Sirku			—	<i>Ναβαγάθ, κωμόπολις</i>		Circesium	Deir-ez-Zor
Ḫabur	50	<i>Ἀράξης Πόταμος</i>	—	<i>Ἀβούρας πόταμος</i>	<i>Χαβῶρα</i>	Chaboras	Ḫabur River
Suḫi			4	<i>Ἀσιχα κώμη</i>	—	—	—
			6	<i>Δοῦρα Νικάνορος</i>	<i>Δοῦρα</i>	Dura	Tell Salihie
Mari, Ma'eri			5	<i>Μέρραν ὁχρῶμα</i>	—	—	Tell Hariri
Ḫindanu		—	5	<i>Γιδδάν πόλις</i>	—	—	
Ḫarada, Harzē Maškitē	35	<i>Κορσώτη Μασκᾶς πόταμος</i>	7	<i>Βηλεσι Βιβλάδα</i>	—	—	Kala't Bulak?
			6	(Island)	—	—	
Anat		—	4	<i>Ἀναθὼ νῆσος</i>		Anatha	Ana
Talbish		—	2	<i>Θιλαβοῦς νῆσος</i>	—	Thilutha	Haditha?
		—	12	<i>Ἰζαν νησόπολις</i>	—	Achaiachala	Al-Uz
		<i>Χαρμάνδη</i>		—	—	Paraxmalcha	
Hit, Tuttul			16	<i>Ἀείπολις, ἀσφαλτίτιδες πηγαί</i>	Idicara	Diacira Ozogardana	Hit
	90	<i>Πύλαι</i>		—	—	Macepracta	Umm Raus
			12		—	Pirisaboras	Al-anbar
(Totals)	175		102				

\* *Parthian Stations* ed. Schoff (Philadelphia, 1914).

identified with a site now called Baghouz, just below Abu Kemal, on the frontier between modern Syria and Iraq, where a French excavator, Du Mesnil du Buisson,<sup>11</sup> has dug up material ranging from the prehistoric period to the Iron Age. But it seems to be more likely at ed-Diniyye, the site at a loop of the Euphrates of ancient Ḥarada or Ḥaridu (or Ḥarzē) near Maškitē, where Tukulti Ninurta II spent a night. They are the correct distance from the Habur, and their names are represented in Korsote (for Κορρώρη) and Maskas. The river of that name must be a former canal, now disappeared. After a rest of three days, the army then marched again for thirteen days through the desert, along the Euphrates for 90 parasangs (this figure is hardly excessive; for a large army, the parasangs necessarily became very short) till they reached a place called Pylae, 'the Gates'. The name does not occur elsewhere, but we are allowed the information that the Gates were 23 parasangs (about 86 miles) distant from Kunaxa, followed by the incorrect estimate of the distance thence to Babylon as 360 stadia or 12 parasangs.<sup>12</sup> Felix Jones assumed<sup>13</sup> that Pylae represents the point where the river narrows at a place called Bekaa, near Ramadi, on the view that the name implies a narrowing of the river like a gate. But it is certain that it marked the 'Gates' or 'entrance' to the frontiers of Babylonia, since Xenophon states the subsequent marches to have taken place 'through Babylonia'. Herzfeld<sup>14</sup> places the Gates at Mada'in-al-Hit, 10 kms. below Hit, where there is only a narrow path along the Euphrates bank. For Musil they were at Al-aswad,<sup>15</sup> about 22 kms. below Hit. Musil's account of this stretch deserves quotation:

'Xenophon's picture of this part of the Euphrates valley is true to nature. The banks thereabouts are formed by porous rocky bluffs containing much crystallised gypsum and dissected by innumerable short, deep gullies. In some places for a distance of many kilometres the Euphrates washes the foot of steep rocks on the left bank, leaving no room for the road, which has to follow a course far from the river over rocky ground and through gullies. Where some of the gullies run down to the Euphrates, marshy and often impassable bays are formed. In a territory of this character the daily marches could not have been of equal length because the army must have taken care to reach, if not every day, then at least every other day, a fairly large bay where it could obtain water and pasture.'

The stretch between Korsote and Pylae included the towns of Anah and Hit, the latter famous for its bituminous springs; in its neighbourhood, we have to place on the right bank the large and prosperous city called Charmande, to which Xenophon describes the soldiers crossing the river on floats to do their shopping. Charmande has been (not wholly plausibly) interpreted as derived from 'kir', an Aramaic word meaning 'bitumen', 'pitch' and 'mand', a Persian adjectival ending.<sup>16</sup> Musil explained it as *karma-adda* 'vineyard of Adda' and located it at Adde, opposite Al-aswad.

Fifteen parasangs beyond Hit is said to have been on the right bank a fertile region, where the army of Julian similarly provisioned itself in A.D. 363.<sup>17</sup> But the left bank is described by Xenophon as completely bare, the only industry of the inhabitants being to quarry stones (probably, one assumes, of basalt), to be sold in Babylon for grinding corn.<sup>18</sup> But after Pylae they had entered the rich alluvial plain, irrigated by canals. They marched

<sup>11</sup> Du Mesnil du Buisson, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> See below, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> 'Researches in the Vicinity of the Median Wall', *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government* xliii (1850) 263.

<sup>14</sup> Herzfeld, *Ausgrabungen von Samarra* vi (1948). This posthumous work, an excellent survey, unfortunately lacks maps, the plates having been destroyed in the War.

<sup>15</sup> Alois Musil in *The Middle Euphrates*, Appendix II 'Xenophon on the Middle Euphrates', 213-14 esp. 223 (New York, 1927).

<sup>16</sup> Obermayer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* (1929).

<sup>17</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum libri qui supersunt* xxiv. For a detailed study, see L. Dilleman, 'Ammien Marcellin et les pays de l'Euphrate et du Tigre', *Syria* xxviii (1961).

<sup>18</sup> i 5.5.

for three days, a distance of 12 parasangs, finding traces of a large cavalry force which had retreated out of reach:<sup>19</sup> and on the fourth day's march Cyrus reviewed his army in the middle of the night, as a battle was felt to be imminent.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, as it was now approaching September, it is possible that many of these marches were made at night or early morning, to take advantage of the cool. But another day went past, and the army marched on for 3 parasangs in battle formation.<sup>21</sup> Halfway through this march they encountered a deep ditch dug in the ground, 5 fathoms across and 3 fathoms deep. The ditch, Xenophon reports, extended inland 12 parasangs 'upwards' (*ἀνω*) over the plain as far as the 'Wall of Media' (or so he was told), but there was a narrow passage about 20 feet wide between the river and the ditch. The Persian king had had the ditch dug (he says) as an obstacle, when he heard that Cyrus was advancing against him. It was by this passage that the army of Cyrus got through, for the trench was undefended. Xenophon remarks that, since the king did not obstruct Cyrus at the trench, he seemed to Cyrus and the others to have given up the fight. But they were wrong, and two days later the armies met at a field of battle<sup>22</sup> which Plutarch, writing five hundred years later, calls Kunaxa;<sup>23</sup> and it is extremely tempting to connect this northern frontier with the belt of evidently very ancient fortifications which may be seen on the map between Umm Raus on the Euphrates, and Istabalat on the Tigris.<sup>24</sup>

The centre is occupied by a long dyke called Jalu or Sadd Nimrud ('Nimrod's Dyke'), with traces of turrets and moat on the west side, which follows a curiously meandering course. Alois Musil describes it as 'a rampart (*žalw*) four to six metres high, thirty metres wide at the bottom. In some places bulges projected, resembling remnants of towers. On the west side there extended a shallow depression.'<sup>25</sup> The northern continuation, however, is formed by a well preserved and highly developed fortification which was first discovered 136 years ago by Dr Ross<sup>26</sup> and confirmed by Lieut. Lynch.<sup>27</sup> The latter described it as an embankment or wall of lime and pebbles, 'having towers or buttresses on the northern or north-western face and a deep and wide fosse. This we called the Median Wall; and putting our horses to their full speed, we galloped along it for more than an hour, but finding no appearance of a termination, we returned for our morning observations, taking the word of the natives that it reached to the Euphrates.' This is the feature over 20 miles long which, since Lynch's day, has appeared on most classical maps of the area as the Median Wall. But Capt. Jones already in 1867 pointed out that in spite of appearances neither in extent nor construction did it fit the description.<sup>28</sup> This wall is called in Arabic by the name of Al-mutabbaq, meaning 'that which is in layers', i.e. built of recognisable straight lines of bricks. Beyond it is only the now empty steppe, once partly irrigated by the Jalu canal, probably in early Arab times. Al-mutabbaq is described in detail by Herzfeld as a wall 10 courses high of burnt brick, each 136 cm. high, forming a skin 1.4 m. thick filled with pebbles, with rounded towers or buttresses 46.3 m. apart, 53.9 from axis to axis (PLATE I).<sup>29</sup> The measurements of the bricks and other distances are said to fall roughly into Arabic measurements of an ell of 51.8 cm. of the period of the Caliph Ma'mun, and according to Herzfeld, the construction of Al-mutabbaq was due to the threat of the Bedouin

<sup>19</sup> i 6.1.

<sup>20</sup> i 7.1.

<sup>21</sup> i 7.14 ff.

<sup>22</sup> i 8.1 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Artaxerxes*.

<sup>24</sup> GSGS. 3919. 3rd ed. 1949. Quarter inch. 1.38 N.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, 51, and 142, 148 and 154. See Goetze, *loc. cit.*, 64 n. 94.

<sup>26</sup> J. Ross, 'Notes on two Journeys from Baghdad to the Ruins of al Hadhr . . . in 1836 and 1837',

*JRGS* ix 445, 1; also 'Journey from Bagdad to the Ruins of Opis and the Median Wall in 1834', *JRGS* xi (1841).

<sup>27</sup> Lynch, 'Note on a part of the river Tigris between Baghdad and Samarra', *JRGS* xi (1841) 472-3.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, 263 (see note 13).

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, 8: Lane, *Babylonian Problems*, described in 1921 the wall near the railway as being of unbaked brick forming two casemates 5 feet broad, with regular bastions at 60 yards' interval.

invading the fertile area along the Tigris bank by the river Dujail in the late Abassid period. At its termination may be seen a small rectangular fort with rounded corner bastions.<sup>30</sup> It will be noticed, however, that this fort in the first place is not aligned with the wall, and secondly appears to be of a plan similar to others of the Roman period, e.g. Han al Qattar on the Roman frontier Limes, between Bosra and Palmyra.<sup>31</sup> It seems that investigation is desirable whether this fort is in fact of the same period as the Wall, or whether it is the remnant of an earlier defence along the same line.

The fortification in the central area seems, when it peters out, to be making for the region of Falluja, though there is a considerable gap, as far as can at present be seen. This may well be because a gap like this did not need defending, since in those days an army could not advance far into the desert away from water.

*The Wall at Umm Raus.* When we get to the Euphrates side, however, we come to a new discovery, to which my attention was very kindly drawn in 1947 by Mr John Saffery, of Messrs Hunting Aero-Surveys. This feature is a wall running inland towards the rising ground of the desert, to meet the central group of defences (FIG. 1). It runs from Umm Raus on the left bank of the river opposite Habbaniyah. Umm Raus itself is a deserted fort which was described as follows by Alois Musil in 1912 as consisting of 'a few low heaps of old brickwork together with the main part of the stronghold itself, which is rectangular in shape, with walls strengthened by semi-circular towers. On its west side the gate was still visible. From afar the fort resembled a Roman camp.'<sup>32</sup> From Umm Raus we see the wall running inland for a distance of about 7 miles, with rounded bastions at intervals for the distance of 2½ miles. It is clear from air photographs taken at about 4,000 ft. that it is a very ancient construction, for two reasons: because its patination is identical with that of the surrounding desert (for, when things are newly cut in the desert they show up differently in colour from their surroundings when seen from above) and, further on, we see where the bastions end, and the wall is continued by a mere trench, that the trench is deeply cut across by *wadis*, or ancient watercourses, of long standing. The trench at this stage follows a line which was set out by markers in the form of small double bunkers placed at intervals through which it had to go. In 1953 the wall was inspected at our request on the ground by Mr D. J. Wiseman, and followed in greater detail by Capt. R. W. Huntington, then at R.A.F. Station, Habbaniyah. The latter kindly reported that the wall appeared to be about 35-45 ft. broad, with bastions projecting about 20 ft. to 25 ft., set at a distance of about 190 ft. from axis to axis. At its highest point the mound made by the wall stood about 7 or 8 ft. high. From the air it can be seen that there are about forty buttresses in all. A drawing made from these photographs is shown in FIG. 1.

Now it is very difficult, without further details and scientific examination on the ground, to pass an opinion which can be relied upon as to the date of such a fortification. Normally, one would expect walls with semi-circular bastions or towers to be Roman, of about the third century A.D., such as are found at Nicaea in Asia Minor. And indeed at first sight this wall at Umm Raus seems to resemble Al-mutabbaq at the Tigris side. But the measurements of tower intervals and sizes differ. Indeed the possibility that a wall with these round bastions may be much older than Roman period need not be excluded. The city wall of the ancient Sumerian city of Uruk had over 800 projecting rounded bastions in its circuit.<sup>33</sup> The west wall of the city of Asshur, one of the capitals of Assyria, built of mud brick and stone by Sennacherib at the end of the eighth century B.C., was marked by small

<sup>30</sup> Lane, *Babylonian Problems* 42, points out this feature and illustrates it in a photograph (his Plate 5).

<sup>31</sup> Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, pls. 38-9.

<sup>32</sup> *The Middle Euphrates* 154. It seems that this

wall or fortification was observed but never recorded, during or just after World War I; see Major Mason, *loc. cit.* (note 72).

<sup>33</sup> von Haller, *Uruk-Warka* 7. *Bericht* 41-45, pl. 35.

projecting rounded bastions at short intervals (PLATE II).<sup>34</sup> The north Syrian city of Senjirli, built about the same time, had its inner citadel wall with similar rounded bastions on a basis of stone and wood.<sup>35</sup> We can only say that such a construction at that period—the eighth century B.C.—was unusual but not unknown, and may have been evoked specially to meet the improvements in siege warfare and the use of battering rams, introduced by the Assyrians themselves, to which these round surfaces sought to avoid a ‘purchase’.<sup>36</sup> The interesting thing is that we have here in this Wall at Umm Raus a feature which in its location and general dimensions would seem to qualify well to be identified with the trench hastily thrown up by Artaxerxes against the invading army, described by Xenophon as 5 fathoms wide (about 30 ft.) and 3 fathoms deep (about 18 ft.), and as running up, i.e. into rising ground, a distance of 12 parasangs, to the Median Wall. This last detail he was not in a position to investigate, obviously taking the words of his guide for it, but a distance of 12 parasangs would certainly take us towards the Tigris bank, where a similar defensive feature is placed at Al-mutabbaq. It may well be that both these walls with bastions were a

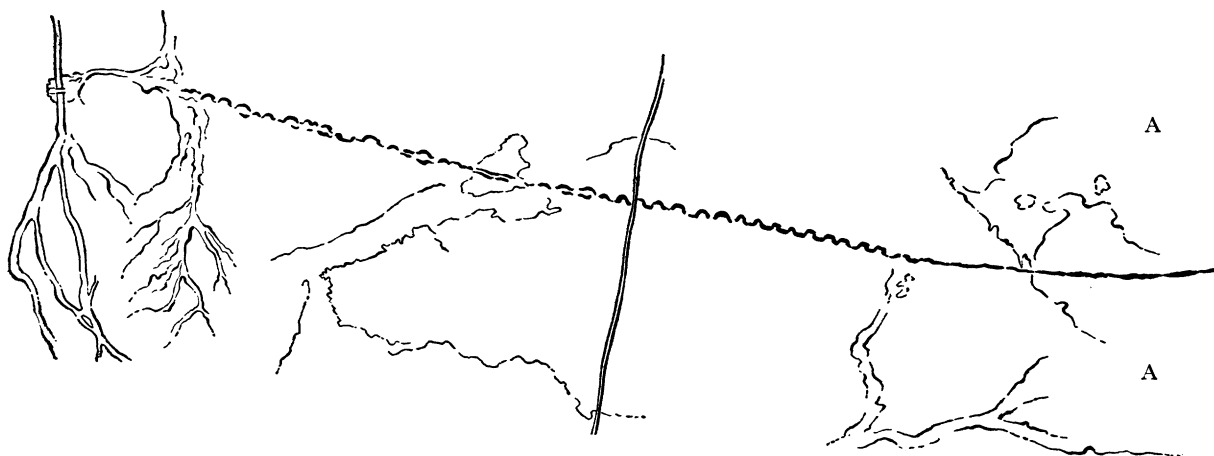


FIG. 1. Traces of Wall at Umm Raus (joining at A-A).

later, e.g. Roman, addition, built on an earlier foundation, but for the present this possibility must be left open. What seems likely is that they mark the course of the early defensive line, the western edge of which, in the form of Xenophon's trench, can still be seen on these photographs.

It is unlikely that these walls shown in this photograph were of so late a date as the Roman period, for this reason: in A.D. 363, Julian, as stated above, marching down the east bank of the Euphrates, reached Ozogardana, which is identifiable with Hit. It was found abandoned and burnt; then *ad vicum Macepracta pervenit in quo semiruta murorum vestigia videbantur, qui priscis temporibus in spatia longa protenti tueri ab externis incursionibus Assyriam dicebantur*.<sup>37</sup>

From this it would appear that Macepracta must then have been the name of the already ancient walls at Umm Raus. It is difficult to see to what other walls this description could apply.

*The Canals.* At this point, we have to enter a digression on the canal system of northern Babylonia. This is a subject which is partly rendered necessary by a passage in the

<sup>34</sup> Andrae, *Das Wiedererstandene Assur* pl. 72.

<sup>35</sup> Von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen von Sindschirli* ii pls. 15, 16, 30.

<sup>36</sup> Dr Gadd points out to me that it is now claimed that battering rams were known in the Old

Babylonian period, being called *wašibum* in the Mari letters. Kupper, *Revue Assyriologique* xlii 139-45, 125. But the great period of their use was by the Assyrians in the early Iron Age.

<sup>37</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus xxiv 2.

text of Xenophon immediately following his mention of the trench which runs up to the Wall of Media and which his army passed before the battle. He says: 'There are there [said to be, *ἐνθα δὴ*] the canals which flow *from the Tigris*. They are four in number, a hundred feet (*πλεθριαῖαι*) broad, and very deep, and are navigable by ships carrying corn. They empty into the Euphrates, each one at the interval of a parasang, and they are crossed by bridges.' Since the only canals which most scholars are acquainted with and consider (mistakenly) that Xenophon must have crossed, derive from the Euphrates and flow towards the Tigris, Xenophon's statement has been coolly dismissed as a later gloss, referring to four well-known Euphrates canals [the Saklawiye (or Nahr Isa), Sarsar, Nahr Malkha and Cuthiya] of later times.<sup>38</sup> But if we for the moment ignore the question of their source, the fact remains that several such canals as Xenophon describes, existed in the area south of the Umm Raus wall and it was on them, and on the irrigation system cunningly developed by means of them, that the rich agriculture of Babylon depended,<sup>39</sup> but our information concerning their pattern is as yet too incomplete for us to grasp exactly to which canals

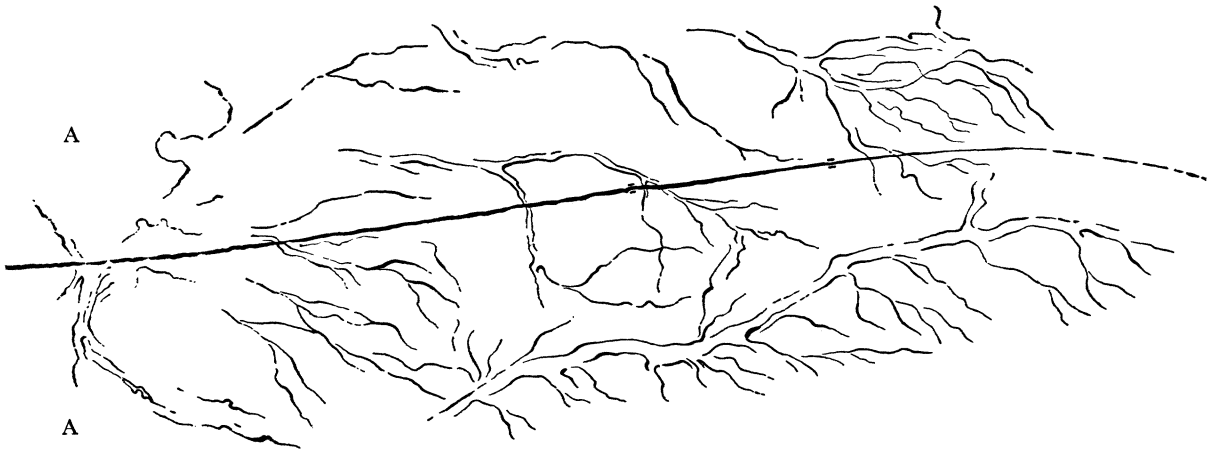


FIG. I.—*contd.*

he refers. Unfortunately, canals form a subject which has been too long neglected by the archaeologist. A century ago, Commander Selby, Captain Jones and Lieutenants Collingwood and Bewsher made an excellent beginning of the work of trying to plan and plot these canals,<sup>40</sup> but the knowledge of the time was quite insufficient to make great progress with the task, and, even though today the remains of the high banks of many of these canals are clearly visible above ground, it is extremely difficult without very expert study to decide which are ancient, which belong to the Sassanian, which to the early Islamic period, and which to more modern times. Often a canal may have served for very many periods, at least for part of its course. There may be historical references which can be used, but are not always easy to understand or to reconcile with each other. Some canals were conducted between banks on the level of the plain, not cut into it, and thus easily became silted up, or became useless by the shifting of the river bed. It is obvious from a glance at the positions of the ancient sites of Babylonia that have been identified, and of the tells representing those which have not, that these lie along lines representing extinct water-courses of this kind. It was first in 1953-4 that the American School of Oriental Research

<sup>38</sup> See Musil, *op. cit.*, Appendix VI, 'The Canals of the Middle Euphrates'. On these canals, see Streck, *Die Alte Landschaft Babylonien* (1900-1); Alois Musil, *op. cit.*; Lestrang, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905); and Obermayer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien* (1929).

<sup>39</sup> See on this, Laessle, 'Reflexions on Modern

and Ancient Oriental Waterworks', *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* vii (1953).

<sup>40</sup> 'Surveys of Ancient Babylon' by Commander W. Beaumont Selby, Lieutenant W. Collingwood and Lieutenant J. B. Bewsher (London, 1885). See note 77.

in Baghdad seriously faced this basic question of Babylonian geography,<sup>41</sup> having successfully already undertaken a smaller survey of the central Diyala region, to the east of the Tigris. The area of Central Babylonia was then surveyed by Robert Adams and Vaughn Crawford, who published a brief preliminary report in 1958.<sup>42</sup> Though the area with which they were concerned was mostly further south than that which interests us, it yet has some relevance (FIG. 2). It shows that, at least until the Kassite period, i.e. the end of the second millennium (they did not yet make any report on the first millennium B.C.) the Euphrates flowed through Sippar as far as Warka (Uruk) and beyond. This had always been assumed by modern scholars, on the strength of texts and other evi-

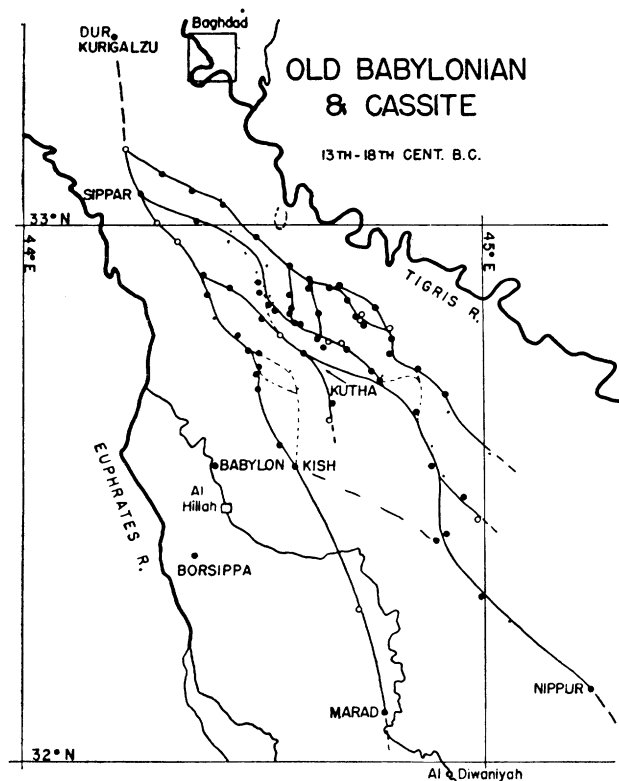


FIG. 2. Diagram showing old course of Euphrates and canals on left bank. From *Sumer* xiv (1958) 102, Fig. 6.

dence (for example, the name of the river Euphrates being written in cuneiform as *ÍD.UD.KIB.NUN*,<sup>K1</sup> 'the river of Sippar') but the original course of the river had nowhere been properly plotted before. Unfortunately, this expedition has as yet only partly surveyed the left bank of this ancient Euphrates course, so that much more still remains to be done, e.g. about its canals on the other, or west, bank, towards Babylon. Again, the American expedition has not yet published a map of the canals of the neo-Babylonian period at all. Nor does any definitive study exist even to show from cuneiform sources what cities were still flourishing in that period and in that of the Achaemenians.<sup>43</sup> But

<sup>41</sup> See 'Mesopotamian Mound Survey', *Archaeology* vii (1954); Goetze, 'Archaeological Survey of Ancient Canals', *Sumer* xi (1955) 127-8.

<sup>42</sup> Robert M. Adams, 'Settlements in Ancient Akkad', *Archaeology* x (1957) 270-3; 'Survey of Ancient Watercourses and Settlements in Central Iraq', *Sumer* xiv (1958) 101-4.

<sup>43</sup> Tablets dated under Achaemenid kings have been found, dated and inscribed from the following cities: Borsippa, Babylon, Sahrinu, Sippar, Nippur, Dilbat, Hubadisu, Kutha, Uruk, Ur (information from Mr D. J. Wiseman).

the American expedition's already published report and diagrams emphasise one important fact—that the Euphrates ran down to Sippar, due south, from the Kassite capital of Dûr-kurigalzu (Aqar Qûf), which today lies in a marshy space called the Aqar Qûf depression, a little west of modern Baghdad.<sup>44</sup> This prompts the question which does not seem to have been asked: how did the Euphrates get to Dûr-kurigalzu? The answer can only be: that in ancient times it must have left its present course where it meets the soft alluvium west of Aqar Qûf—namely, in the neighbourhood of Al-anbar above Falluja, where a watercourse, known to be of great age, called by various names—Nahr Isa,<sup>45</sup> Dukeil or Karma, branches off and runs eastwards towards the depression of Aqar Qûf. At Aqar Qûf, banks of a great river course, running from the west then turning sharply south towards Sippar, can here be clearly recognised from the air. From Sippar in neo-Babylonian times, the river seems to have been deflected largely into the Arahtu canal<sup>46</sup> to flow through Babylon, and in fact, the waters of Euphrates and Arahtu were deemed to be as one. In Babylon, the left bank was called the Arahtu bank, the right, that of the Euphrates.<sup>47</sup> It is this pattern of rivers which, I believe, enabled Strabo and other Greek writers to describe the shape of Mesopotamia, with its sharp bends in the Euphrates, as resembling a rower's cushion or seat, in a trireme (ὕπηρέσιον).<sup>48</sup> But we may now be justified in tracing the next step in the history of the Euphrates. In an article published in 1899, Meissner<sup>49</sup> connected a very important Babylonian canal the AP.KAL or Apkallatu (which, in Hellenistic times, was called the Pallacottas canal), with the site of Falluja, known in Syriac as Pallughtha, a little below Al-anbar. We have a valuable description of the Pallacottas and its importance in the first century by Arrian (quoting Aristobulus) in his work on Alexander.<sup>50</sup> Alexander, with his usual restless energy, constructed a harbour at Babylon large enough for a thousand ships.

'While the new warships were under construction and the work of dredging the harbour proceeded, Alexander sailed from Babylon down the Euphrates to the river known as Pallacottas, about 800 *stadia* downstream from the city. The Pallacottas is not actually a river rising from springs, but a canal leading off from the Euphrates. Now the Euphrates, which rises in the mountains of Armenia, is in winter a shallowish river and runs well within its banks, but in spring, and especially round about the summer solstice, its volume is greatly increased by the melting of the snow in the Armenian mountains, so that the water, rising above the level of its banks, floods the neighbouring Assyrian plains. At least, this flooding would inevitably occur were it not for the cutting by which its waters are diverted along the Pallacottas into the marshes and lakes which continue from that point almost into Arabia, and passing thence over a vast area of swampy land, finally reach the sea by a number of ill-defined channels.

'In autumn, at the setting of the Pleiades, after the snows have melted, the level of the Euphrates drops, yet even so, most of its water continues to find its way along the Pallacottas canal into the lakes; thus, unless the canal were closed by a sluice, to block the entrance of the river-water and allow it to flow along its proper channel, it would,

<sup>44</sup> Dûr-kurigalzu, founded by the Kassite king, Kurigalzu I (c. 1400 B.C.) appears to occupy the site of an older Sumerian city named Esâ. Poebel, 'The City of Esa', *Miscellaneous Studies* (Chicago, 1947). (I owe this reference to Dr E. Sollberger.)

<sup>45</sup> Poebel, *op. cit.*, plausibly suggests that this name, used in Islamic times, and popularly said to refer to the 'Isa, the uncle of Mansur, is, in fact, an adapted recollection of Esâ.

<sup>46</sup> See T. Jacobsen, 'The Waters of Ur', *Iraq* xx (1960) 175.

<sup>47</sup> E. Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt* (1931).

<sup>48</sup> Strabo ii 1.23. In xvi 1.22 he says that Mesopotamia contracts in shape, projecting to a considerable length; the shape of it somewhat resembles a boat, and the greatest part of its periphery is formed by the Euphrates.

<sup>49</sup> B. Meissner, 'Pallacottas', *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* i (1896) 177–89.

<sup>50</sup> vii 22.



at this season of the year, empty the Euphrates completely, and so prevent the irrigation of the Assyrian plains. The construction of such a sluice was undertaken by the governor of Babylonia; it proved a tremendous task and the result was unsuccessful, as the soil at that point is mostly soft, wet clay which is easily penetrated by the water of the river. Consequently, it was no easy matter to keep it from percolating into the canal, though for three months over 10,000 Assyrian workmen were kept on the job.

'When these facts came to Alexander's knowledge, he was anxious to do something to improve Assyria's prospects. Accordingly, he proposed to construct a really efficient sluice at the junction of the canal and the river; however, at a spot some four miles lower down he observed that the soil was of a harder and stonier nature, and it occurred to him that if a new cutting were carried from that point into the Pallacottas canal, the problem might be better solved, for the water would be unable to penetrate the hard, impermeable ground, and could easily be shut off by the sluice at the proper time.'

The same story in abbreviated form is quoted by Strabo,<sup>51</sup> writing about a century before Arrian. Some confusion has been caused to scholars who understand by this reference that the Pallacottas ran south of Babylon and was 800 stadia long (a hundred miles), which, in any case, is a wild exaggeration. But, in fact, Arrian need not mean at all that Babylon was its point of commencement. On the contrary, his statement can be explained by Meissner's theory that Pallacottas is represented by the name of the modern village of Falluja, the earlier Syriac name of which was Pallughtha. Pallughtha is a word derived from Semitic root '*plg*' meaning 'division'; for example, in *Genesis* x 25, we meet the name of one of the descendants of Noah whose name was Peleg, who was so called, we are told, 'for in his days the earth was divided'. In Akkadian, *palgu* and in Hebrew, *peleg*, means a canal, and the Syriac name *Pallughtha* means 'regulating' of a river.<sup>52</sup> Pallughtha, in fact, in Babylonian times, was the place called in Babylonian Pallukat, founded by Nebuchadnezzar, and the very significant information is preserved that Pallukat paid the tribute of a tithe to the city of Sippar.<sup>53</sup> We may easily conjecture that it was because at or near this point, where the waters of the Euphrates were heavily deflected, Sippar lost a large part of its water, and the wealth it brought. What then has become today of the upper course of the Pallukat or Pallacottas canal? For it seems to be lost. I think the explanation is, that at some date after Aristobulus, and perhaps well after the time of Ptolemy, the Euphrates changed its course completely into the channel of the Pallacottas canal, doing what Aristobulus had described as the ever-present danger. According to his remarks, the junction of the Pallacottas with the Euphrates (at the Macedonian settlement to which Pliny gives the name Bura<sup>54</sup>) is to be sought a little below Falluja. The Euphrates' main channel must then, at the time of Alexander, have struck south-eastward towards Sippar at this point. Traces of this Euphrates' second phase are probably marked by the ancient Abu Ghureib watercourse, now dried up. The Pallacottas, meanwhile, ran more or less to the west of Babylon, being linked with Babylon by another famous canal, the Arah̄tum, which ran down through Babylon, perhaps from Sippar.

*Cyrus the Great's Capture of Babylon.* We may perhaps digress to touch here in parenthesis the question of the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., when Cyrus the Great, the namesake of Xenophon's hero, marched successfully into Babylonia and overthrew its defences, so carefully constructed by Nebuchadnezzar. Herodotus<sup>55</sup> has a circumstantial account of how Cyrus turned the waters of the Euphrates aside from following their course into Babylon

<sup>51</sup> xvi 1.9-11.

<sup>52</sup> 'Pallughtha—nicht eigentlich ein Kanalname, sondern ein Ausdruck für die Regulierung des Euphrat selbst', Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 13.

<sup>53</sup> Meissner, *loc. cit.*, 186.

<sup>54</sup> *NH* ii 5.30.

<sup>55</sup> i 189-91.

by switching them into the great lake which Nitocris, i.e. Nebuchadnezzar, had prepared, presumably that on the north side of the Median Wall, intended as part of the defences of the city and which Herodotus himself describes, attributing the lake to Nitocris. An account somewhat similar to Herodotus' is followed by Xenophon himself in his *Cyropaedia*.<sup>56</sup> There is no confirmation of this story from Oriental sources. The *Book of Daniel* does not know it—only that Babylon's fall was by surprise during a feast.<sup>57</sup> The *Babylonian Chronicle*<sup>58</sup> describes Cyrus crossing the Tigris at Opis, where he won a battle in the month of Tishri (September), and Sippar surrendered. He then advanced towards Babylon, but did not enter it until the seventeenth day of the month of Mar-Heshvan (October). The delay may be explained if we suppose the story of the draining of the river Euphrates to be true, not by his filling the lake north of the Wall (which would surely have been done already by the Babylonians if Babylon was to be put into a posture of defence), but by the probability that Cyrus sent a detachment on to Falluja to switch the Euphrates (which was then already at low water, being October) into the course of the Pallacottas channel or into the lakes. This would certainly have had the effect desired of emptying the waters of Babylon, and would make much better sense as an explanation than the story reported to the Greeks.

*Perisaboras and Macepracta.* From Sippar, another great canal, called the Royal canal, or in Babylonian, *nar šarri*, in Aramaic, *nar malkha*, seems to have taken off in an easterly direction to meet the Tigris at Opis. It was certainly of great antiquity.<sup>59</sup> By the first century B.C., its point of exit from the Euphrates was called Neapolis, 22 *schoeni* (the equivalent of parasangs) below Besēchana (Al-anbar above Falluja), and according to Isidore of Charax,<sup>60</sup> this was the route by water to Seleucia. By the late first century A.D., the section nearing the Tigris had silted up and was reopened by Severus and again by Trajan.<sup>61</sup> At the same period, however, it would seem, the first, or original bend of the Euphrates turning sharply eastwards at Al-anbar along the Nahr Isa channel (*alias* the Karma or Saklawiye) was still in full use, as Pliny shows<sup>62</sup> when he describes how, at the village of Massicé (Isidore's Besēchana, Parthian Mšyk,<sup>63</sup> later Perisaboras) 'the Euphrates divides into two channels, the left one of which runs through Mesopotamia past Seleucia, and falls into the Tigris as it flows round that city. Its channel on the right runs towards Babylon, the former capital of Chaldaea, and flows through the middle of it.' But by Pliny's time, the name Nahr malcha had been extended for some reason to the Nahr Isa channel, for he goes on: *Sunt qui tradunt Euphraten Gobaris praefecti opere diductum esse ubi diximus findi, ne praecipiti cursu Babyloniam infestaret, ab Assyriis vero universis appellatum Narmalchan quod significat regium flumen. Quod dirivatur oppidum fuit Agranis e maximis, quod diruere Persae.* The canal in question would appear to be the Nahr Isa, but Agranis is quite unknown from other sources.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>56</sup> vii 5.

<sup>57</sup> ch. v.

<sup>58</sup> Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (1956).

<sup>59</sup> According to Pallis, *The Antiquity of Iraq* 10, Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, it is first mentioned in the time of Nazimaruttaš. Pinches, *JRAS* 1917 137, 'An Early Mention of the Nahr Malka', publishes a tablet from Jokha (Umma) of the time of Bur-Sin of Ur, mentioning Sura and the Canal of the King.

<sup>60</sup> *Parthian Stations* 1.

<sup>61</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus vi 1.

<sup>62</sup> *NH* v 21.90.

<sup>63</sup> For the identification, see Honigsmann and Maricq, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* 110 ff., from the newly discovered trilingual of Naksh-i-Rustem.

W. B. Henning, 'Βεσῆχανα πόλις: ad *BSOAS* xiv 512 N. 6', *Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies* 1953 xv/2.

<sup>64</sup> The identification of the site of Agranis is highly obscure, but it should be near Al-anbar. Dilleman (*loc. cit.*) has complicated matters by twisting a passage in Pliny '*sunt etiamnum in Mesopotamia oppida: Hippareni, Chaldaeorum doctrina et hoc sicut Babylon—juxta fluvium qui cadit in Narragam, unde civitati nomen*' (*NH* vi 30.123) to bring Agranis into connection with Sippar. In about 1090 B.C. Tiglath-pileser I marched against Babylon and captured the cities of Dur-kurigalzu (= Aqar Qūf), Sippar-of-Shamash (= Abu Habbah), Sippar-of-Anunitum and Babylon, and returned via Opis. The site of 'Sippar-of-Shamash' (Abu Habbah) is well known,

From the mention of 'all the Assyrians', however, it is clear that the standpoint of the description is outside Babylonia, i.e. north of the Nahr Isa. Agranis must therefore have stood near Al-anbar or Pallukat.

In A.D. 363 the Roman Emperor Julian marched down the Euphrates against the Persian army of the Sassanians, and his itinerary is recorded in the eye-witness account of Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>65</sup> After passing a city which Ammianus calls Ozogardana (identifiable as Hit, on the Euphrates, by his mentioning the springs of bitumen which are found there), he says they came to the village of Macepracta in which were seen the half-destroyed remains of walls that in former times stretched to a long distance to protect the country from invasions from without. These walls we have discussed. Here, he goes on to say, the river divides into great arms, one leading to the inner regions of Babylonia, the other, which is called the Nahar Malcha, or 'royal river', flows through Ctesiphon. In calling it the Nahar Malcha (which lies further south) some contend Ammianus was mistaken; otherwise he was correct: but as I have shown, the Nahr Isa appears to have been then so called. At the beginning of this stream, there was (he says) a lofty tower like a lighthouse, by which the infantry passed on a carefully constructed bridge. After Macepracta, they came to the city of Pirisaboras and took it. Now, Pirisaboras is without any question Piruz-sabur, 'victorious Sapor', a city previously called Mšyk (or Massicē by Pliny) or Besēchana, rebuilt by Sapor II in the first half of the fourth century, and scholars are on the whole agreed that it is represented by the ruins called Al-anbar, 'the arsenal', just north of Falluja. It may be remarked that Al-anbar, or Pirisaboras, was a centre which included a very important Jewish settlement, called Pumbaditha, famous for its academy of Talmudic learning from A.D. 259 to 342, the identification of Pumbaditha with Al-anbar being well known to the Spanish-Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century A.D.<sup>66</sup>

but that of the other Sippar, that of Anunitum, is not. It clearly lay between Abu Habbah and Babylon, but is not mentioned again. It is, however, known that Sippar-of-Anunitum was a next-door neighbour of the city of Akkad (the site of which is likewise unknown), being separate from it only by a canal called the *nār Agādē* or 'river of Akkad' (Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* s.v. 'Akkad'). But the reference in the Bible, 2 *Kings* xix. 34, to the name of Sepharvaim, a city which the Assyrians claim to have destroyed, being a dual form, has suggested to some that both Sippars existed into the seventh century B.C. In fact, both Akkad and Sippar-of-Anunitum survived certainly into the sixth century B.C., for Nabonidus rededicated an identically-named temple in each (Ebeling, *loc. cit.*). Sippar-of-Shamash lasted certainly into Achaemenid times. While, therefore, it would seem that Sippar-of-Anunitum formed a twin city with Akkad, it is not clear that Sippar-of-Anunitum had any intimate geographical connection with Sippar-of-Shamash. Dilleman, however, claims that Sippar(-of-Shamash) formed a double city ('ville jumelle') with a non-existent city, Agané (which is evidently a misreading of the name Agādē = Akkad), and sees in a hypothetical \*nar-Agane the interpretation of both Agranis and 'Narraga' of Pliny. But Andrae and Jordan examined the terrain around Sippar(-of-Shamash) in 1927 in detail and could find no trace of a second twin city ('Abu-Habbah-Sippar', *Iraq* i (1934)). It is, however,

perfectly possible that Pliny, in mentioning in his almost certainly garbled passage the river Narraga, near Sippar, was referring to the Nar-Agādē. The passage should probably be amended: '*Hippareni, Chaldaeorum doctrina et hoc sicut Babylon juxta fluvium Narragam qui cadit in <Euphratem> unde civitati nomen*', the last statement being perhaps a clumsy attempt to derive Hippareni from Euphrates; it may even reflect some confused knowledge of the fact that the Euphrates was once called 'the river of Sippar'.

It is usually assumed that Hippareni refers to Sippar (Ptolemy's Sippara), but even that requires proof, since the change of 's' to 'h' is strange. In 1921 Andrae and Jordan, a short distance to the east of Sippar, examined another massive ruined site named Tell-ed-Deir, surrounded by a wall, dated at least to the 1st dynasty of Babylon.

To the east side, the still-visible defences of Tell-ed-Deir are formed by a dried-up stream bed. Whether another 'twin' city lay on the far side of the bed cannot be stated.

<sup>65</sup> See Dilleman, *loc. cit.*, for a detailed evaluation of Ammianus' and Zosimus' testimony.

<sup>66</sup> Elkan Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* 53 (34). 'Thence (from Rahbah) it is a two days' journey to Karkisiya. [Circesium, Deir-ez-Zor.] Thence it is two days to El-anbar, which is Pumbedita in Nehardea.' Benjamin evidently travelled by boat or raft. Nehardea is used apparently to describe a district.

Pumbaditha means in Aramaic, 'mouth of separation', i.e. where the rivers divide. The chief watercourse which took off then from the Euphrates was the navigable canal now called Nahr Isa or Saklawiya, but called in Sassanian times the Šunaya canal, from the city of that name situated on the Tigris, where the canal debouched. The Šunaya at its exit from the Euphrates was crossed by a great bridge called the Kantara Dimimma. This is, of course, the bridge mentioned by Ammianus. At Pumbaditha was a population of 90,000 Jews. It was the seat of an autonomous Jewish community under the Exilarch, or ruler of the Exile who resided there with a bodyguard of 400 men officially recognised by the Sassanian king.<sup>67</sup> The size and substantial character of the remains near Falluja (i.e. at Al-anbar?) may be gauged from the account of a sixteenth-century German traveller, Dr Leonhart Rauwolff, who was so impressed that he thought he was in ancient Babylon. His German manuscript, formerly in the Arundel Library of Gresham College, was translated and published by John Ray in 1693.<sup>68</sup> In 1573, Rauwolff, on his way to Baghdad, travelled downstream from Bir by river to Falluja which he calls Felugo (or Elugo). He describes seeing, a little above Felugo, remains of an old bridge, 'pieces and arches of which were still remaining, of burnt brick, of great strength'. He remarks that this was the only bridge to be seen in the whole stretch from Bir, and is astonished at its construction, the river being there at least half a league broad and very deep; further, he saw just before the village of Falluja (i.e. at Al-anbar?) the hill 'whereon the castle did stand in a plain, whereon you may still see ruins of the fortification, which is quite demolished and uninhabited; behind it, pretty near to it, did stand the Tower of Babylon . . . this we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but it is so mightily ruined and low, and so full of vermin that have bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter when they come not out of their holes'. If this was Al-anbar, the bridge, the citadel and the tower may have been those dating from the time of Julian. Remains of this great town can still be clearly seen from the air, north-east of Falluja, even the ancient streets being discernible, the ancient bed of the Euphrates can be clearly seen diverging from its present course, and the double city wall and citadel.

But let us return to the canals. Between Dûr-kurigalzu and Sippar, the names of at least two important canals are known. One of these was called the Patti-Bêl, on which Tukulti-Ninurta II rested in 884 B.C. when marching from Dûr-kurigalzu (Aqar Qûf) to Sippar.<sup>69</sup> Another was the Patti-Enlil, perhaps the same as a canal the name of which in earlier times was written as ME-Enlil. This, it has been suggested,<sup>70</sup> was a name for the section of the Euphrates between Dûr-kurigalzu and Sippar. But there seems little proof of this, and the Sumerian documents (to be quoted below) suggest rather that it ran on an easterly course between the Pallacottas and the Tigris. In addition to these, a famous canal called Libit-ĥegalli, or Banitum, ran from Babylon through Kish to the Tigris. The diagram of the Euphrates canals below Sippar published by the American expedition shows there to have been two or three further networks, for which we await names. The canals which flowed from the Tigris have not yet been mapped. In the light of these facts, the statement in Xenophon's text regarding the three great canals must clearly be treated with respect.

*Kunaxa.* According to Xenophon, the battle took place at an unnamed spot 360 stadia (about 30 miles), but according to Plutarch, 500 stadia distant from Babylon. The

<sup>67</sup> Obermayer, *op. cit.*, 70 ff.

<sup>68</sup> John Ray, *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, 2 vols. (1693).

<sup>69</sup> See note 6. The Patti-Bêl was also called the river Pittia, Waterman, *op. cit.*, 883.

<sup>70</sup> Meissner, *loc. cit.*; according to Pallis, *op. cit.*, 10, the ME-Enlil was the name of the section from Pallukat to Sippar. This seems a little difficult.

Jacobsen claims the ME-Enlil 'left the Euphrates' right bank at Kish', 'The Waters of Ur', *Iraq* xxii (1960) p. 176 n. 1, p. 177. He bases this statement ostensibly on Kraus' article in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* li 57. But neither Kraus nor the interesting Sumerian text he published say anything of the kind.

battlefield is customarily identified with Tell [Aqar] Kuneesha (Kuneise) on a slope near the river, 57 miles north of Babylon (= 500 stadia).<sup>71</sup> But I find this identification difficult to accept, as I shall explain later. If we take Xenophon's usual ratio of 30 stadia to a parasang, 360 stades would be about 12 parasangs, i.e. about 30 miles by road from Babylon, but Kuneise is much farther (57 miles). Major Mason, following Chesney, put the battlefield near Mufraz, north-west of Sippar.<sup>72</sup> Herzfeld placed it at Falluja.<sup>73</sup>

It is suggested by some that Pliny's Agranis or Agranum lived on, as Hagrunia, into the third century A.D.; this commonly-accepted identification may be, or perhaps more likely, is not, true, but in any event, Hagrunia abutted on the great Jewish centre and academy of Nehardea, to which it formed a citadel.<sup>74</sup> Nehardea, in fact, was the centre of the Jewish diaspora from the time of Josephus until it was sacked and destroyed by the

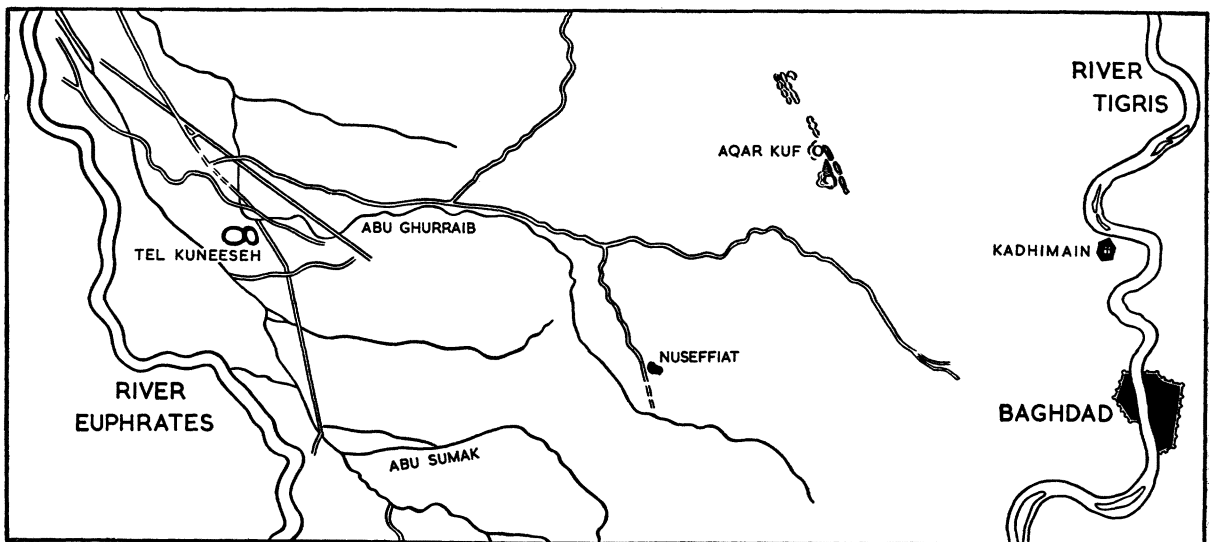


FIG. 3

Sassanian general, Papa bar Nasr, in A.D. 259; its place in Jewish life was then taken over by Pumbaditha, situated at Al-anbar.<sup>75</sup> North of Nehardea, however, at a distance estimated as 18 parasangs from Babylon and a day and a half's journey southwards from Pumbaditha, was the site of a synagogue, Kenishta dê Safyatib. It was a spot of particular sanctity to the Babylonian Jews, being said to contain stones and earth brought from the Temple at Jerusalem at the time of its destruction in 597 B.C.<sup>76</sup> I suggest that it is to be identified with the village of Al Nasiffiyat or Nuseffiat, about 50 miles north of Babylon, which still, in 1861, preserved the remnants of its original name [\*ku]neise-safyat[ib].<sup>77</sup> Further, I believe that this, not Tell Kuneise, is the true site of the battle (FIG. 3). The name Kunaxa is accepted as a Grecised rendering of the aramaic *Kenishta*, meaning 'a synagogue',

<sup>71</sup> Colonel Lane, *Babylonian Problems*, calls it Tell Aqar Kanisah, and adds, 'it is 32 metres high, 182 ft. above sea level'. He, however, gives its distance from Babylon as 57½ miles. Lieut. J. B. Bewsher, 'On part of Mesopotamia contained between Sheriat el-Beytha on the Tigris and Tel Ibrahim', *JRGS* xxxvii (1867) quoting Chesney, gives it as 51¼ miles in an air-line from Babel.

<sup>72</sup> Major Kenneth Mason, 'Notes on the Canal system of ancient sites of Babylon in the time of

Xenophon', *JRGS* lvi (1920) 468 ff. He concludes that the battlefield cannot have been more than 35, or less than 28 miles from al-Anbar, the site of Cyrus' review.

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>74</sup> Obermayer, *op. cit.*, 244-78.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 254.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 73 n. 1; 248-9.

<sup>77</sup> Selby and Bewsher, *Survey of Mesopotamia; Sheriat el Beythra to Tel Ibrahim* (1862-5).

and it is clear that the memory of the battle was preserved by the Babylonian Jews until Plutarch's time, or that of his source—Dion or Ctesias.

For this is the lie of the land and course of the streams which must have faced Xenophon and the Greek army on their march to the battle and afterwards in their retreat, and failure to grasp it has vitiated all previous studies of their route. If the site of the battlefield is placed at Tell Kuneesha-Kuneise, it would imply that they had crossed the Euphrates. But there is no statement that they did so at all, either on their way to the battle or after: the contrary is implied. Admittedly, the passage about the canals<sup>78</sup> which follows the mention of the Median Wall contains a reference to bridges over the canals, and might conceivably be held to imply that the Greeks crossed the Euphrates by such a bridge at Al-anbar and Falluja and marched down to Tell Kuneise *between* the Pallacottas and the old Euphrates course running through Sippar. Yet this is disproved by the fact that Clearchus, as Xenophon tells us,<sup>79</sup> held the right wing in the battle with his Greeks flanked by the Euphrates, so it must have been fought either at a point on an east-west line between Al-anbar and Aqar Qûf (or perhaps if the Euphrates was already then running in the Abu Ghureib channel, between Falluja and Aqar Qûf, though this is less likely); alternatively, the battlefield has to be sought further south but still to the east of the old Euphrates course, between Dûr-kurigalzu/Aqar Qûf and Sippar. In fact, the Greeks, after the battle, were in a position 'surrounded by impassable rivers',<sup>80</sup> i.e. between the Tigris and Euphrates, which they had therefore still not yet crossed. We may work out their itinerary from Pylae as follows:

Pylae (Al-aswad) to <i>x</i> : (site of review):	3 days' march, 12 parasangs.
<i>x</i> to Trench to <i>y</i> :	1 day's march, 3 parasangs.
<i>y</i> to Kunaxa:	2 days' march, (?) 8 parasangs.

Passing the trench must have slowed matters down, but the march after the review when the army was in battle order, leaving the baggage train some way behind, is likely to have been somewhat faster than the usual rate in this region of 3 parasangs to a day. In the next two days, therefore, they may have accomplished 8 parasangs, say about 28 miles. The total march from Pylae (taken as Al-aswad) will then be 23 parasangs, say about 83 miles. The distance from Al-aswad along the river to Al-anbar is fully 40 miles, while that from Al-anbar to Aqar Qûf is about 33; from Aqar Qûf to Al-naşiffiyat, our suggested battlefield, is about 10; total 83. Al-naşiffiyat, at the distance from Babylon prescribed by Plutarch (50 miles or 350 stadia), thus fits the site of Kunaxa. Xenophon's informants, for good reasons, understated the distance to Babylon so as to encourage him.

*Kunaxa to Sittace.* After the battle, their itinerary seems even more obscure, but luckily, something can be done to interpret it. The king withdrew his main army across the Tigris.<sup>81</sup> But the Greek force, which had distinguished itself in the fighting, proudly refused to consider itself defeated, and, after some delay, decided to retreat, but by a different route from that which they had come, which, though it would be longer, would be assured of supplies. Joined by the army of Ariaeus, who had held the left wing, they marched to the baggage which they had left at the last camp, 4 parasangs back (say 14 miles: i.e. 4 miles along the road west from Aqar Qûf to Ad-dam), then made for some unspecified villages in the Babylonian countryside, marching swiftly for a whole day 'with the sun on their right hand', i.e. in a northerly or north-easterly direction, crossing two canals. The next day, they pressed on over ditches and canals to other villages where they found enough provisions including palm wine to last them for a stay of twenty-three

<sup>78</sup> i 7.14.

<sup>79</sup> i 8.4.

<sup>80</sup> iii 1.1; cf. ii 2.3; 4.5.

<sup>81</sup> ii 4.5.

days<sup>82</sup> while a truce was being negotiated. Let us assume they marched north 4 parasangs on the swift march of the first day, and, hampered by the canals, only 3 on the second, a total of 7 parasangs (about 25 miles) north or north-east from Ad-dam, which would bring them to the neighbourhood of Al-ehmedi or Megasse.<sup>83</sup> After this, the Greeks and Ariaeus' native army agreed to march away under a safe conduct and, in a three days' march (say 12 parasangs = 45 miles) reached the 'so-called Wall of Media' and passed over to the other (inner) side of it. The distance of 45 miles from Al-ehmedi brings us roughly back to Seleucia and the region of the Wall. If this is so, however, they must have passed through the Median Wall, not from south to north, but from north to south (*εἴσω*) 'within', as he says, and within the lands it protected, or was meant to protect, and were marching away from the Median Wall in a south-easterly direction.

*The Wall of Media.* This wall, Xenophon says, was made of baked brick laid in bitumen, and was 20 ft. thick, 100 ft. high, and *was reputed* to be 20 parasangs long (about 75 miles!), and lay quite close to Babylon;<sup>84</sup> some of these figures are palpably exaggerated. Then, in the course of a two days' march of 8 parasangs, they crossed two canals, after which they struck the Tigris near a place called Sittace.<sup>85</sup> Another four days' march of 20 parasangs brought them to the River Physkos, at the mouth of which was a great city named Opis.<sup>86</sup> Now it is unfortunate that the positions of neither Sittace nor of Opis are, as yet, positively known, nor is the River Physkos elsewhere mentioned. The important questions of their positions will be discussed later. But what was meant by this 'Median Wall', or 'Wall of Media'? We must remember with Herodotus, that 'the Medes under Cyaxares had conquered all Assyria up to Babylonia *πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης*' (i 806) which elsewhere he defines as the richly-irrigated area of Mesopotamia, wholly cut up by canals (i 193). It is impossible not to connect this wall with a great defensive wall which, as has been known since 1912,<sup>87</sup> Nebuchadnezzar (604–561 B.C.) constructed as a sort of Babylonian equivalent of the Great Wall of China; whereas that was intended to keep out the Mongols, this was intended to keep out the Medes, who were then threatening his Empire. '*In the district of Babylon from the chaussée on the Euphrates bank to Kish, 4½ bēru long, I heaped up on the level of the ground an earth-wall and surrounded the City with mighty waters. That no crack should appear in it, I plastered its slope with asphalt and bricks. To strengthen the fortification of Babylon, I continued, and from Opis upstream to the middle of Sippar, from Tigris bank to Euphrates bank, 6 (?) bēru, I heaped up a mighty earth-wall and surrounded the city for 20 bēru like the fullness of the sea. That the pressure of the water should not harm the dike, I plastered its slope with asphalt and bricks.*'

Here are some fairly explicit statements. The wall, running from Opis to Sippar, was 6 (?) bēru (about 25 miles) long, and Sippar was at that time on the Euphrates. This indeed was a fact so important to the Babylonians that the name of the river Euphrates was written in cuneiform as ID.UD.KIP.NUN.<sup>K1</sup>, literally 'the river of Sippar', UD.KIP.NUN being the Sumerian name of Sippar. It is well to remember this, for the site of Sippar is almost the only known fact in a welter of confusion. It is located by the evidence of excavations at Abu Habbah, now 10 miles to the east of the Euphrates, which has clearly changed its course. Nebuchadnezzar's Wall thus formed a major part of the defences of Babylonia, and, though it proved of no protection against Cyrus the Great when the day of reckoning came in 539 B.C., and Cyrus marched down to Opis and against Sippar and Babylon, nevertheless its fame reached Greek ears. Herodotus<sup>88</sup> has a long

<sup>82</sup> ii 3.14.

<sup>83</sup> Al-ehmedi: Musil, *op. cit.*, 149.

<sup>84</sup> ii 4.9, 12.

<sup>85</sup> ii 4.13.

<sup>86</sup> ii 4.25.

<sup>87</sup> Wadi Brisa inscriptions: Weissbach, *Die In-*

*schriften Nebukadnezars II in Wadi Brisa* (1906). A similar text on a cylinder from Dêr is published by S. Levy, 'Two Cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar II', *Sumer* iii (1947).

<sup>88</sup> i 185–6.

description of Nebuchadnezzar's works, disguised as the defences built by 'Nitocris', and Strabo likewise knew the Wall, but as the Wall of Semiramis.<sup>89</sup> By Xenophon's day it had come to be regarded as an advanced frontier protecting the Achaemenid province of Media. But the site of the ancient city of Opis (Akshak) is not exactly known. It has been assumed that Opis lay not far from Seleucia (Tell Umar) on the Tigris,<sup>90</sup> a site about 18 miles due east of Sippar. Opis, we know, was on the Tigris. It is coupled by Strabo<sup>91</sup> with Seleucia as the limit of navigability of the Tigris in Alexander's time. According to Herodotus,<sup>92</sup> it lay a little distance downstream below the junction of the Tigris with the Gyndes, perhaps the Diyala (called in Assyrian Turnat, Pliny's Tornadotus).<sup>93</sup> Opposite it was a ferry or crossing called Bab-bitki,<sup>94</sup> but it is not clear on which bank it was; Tiglath-pileser I (*circa* 1100 B.C.) says Opis is on the far (i.e. east?) bank.<sup>95</sup> but Nebuchadnezzar (in the text quoted above) seemed to imply it was on the west bank. For Xenophon (see below) it was evidently on the east side of the river: and this indeed is the consensus of most of the evidence. Strabo, quoting Eratosthenes, says<sup>96</sup> that 'the Tigris and Euphrates converge in the neighbourhood of the Wall of Semiramis and Opis, from which village' (how the once great city has shrunk!) 'Euphrates is distant more than 200 stadia', i.e. about 25 miles, if we take the ratio of 8 stadia to a mile.

In 1867, Captain Bewsher drew attention to the ruins of a wall, then called the Habl-es-Sakhar, which literally means a line of stone or bricks, between Tell Umar (Seleucia) and Khan el Azad (which he calls Khan-ez-zad). He says:<sup>97</sup>

'The ruins of this wall may now be traced for about 10½ miles and are about 6 feet above the level of the soil. It was irregularly built, the longest side running E.S.E. for 5½ miles; it then turns to N.N.E. for another mile and a half. An extensive swamp to the northward has done much towards reducing the wall. The two caravanserais at Khan-ez-zad are also in a great measure built of bricks from it and it has doubtless supplied materials for many other buildings. There is a considerable quantity of bitumen scattered about, and it was probably made of bricks set in bitumen. I can see nothing in Xenophon which would show that this was not the wall the Greeks passed, for what he says of its length was merely what was told him. I think that this must be the ruin of the wall called that of Media which Xenophon describes; but I mention this supposition with much diffidence and for the benefit of those better able than myself to judge of its being correct. . . .'

Both Weissbach (1929)<sup>98</sup> and Herzfeld (1948) accept this identification: Herzfeld confirmed the Habl-es-Sakhar's existence from the accounts of the engineers building the Baghdad railway in 1913 and indeed, it must be admitted that it seems to be in some ways in the right place for Nebuchadnezzar's wall. But it follows a very strange and erratic course for a defensive wall, only explicable by the presumed position of former swamps; it

<sup>89</sup> ii 1.

<sup>90</sup> L. Waterman formerly claimed that two cuneiform inscriptions bearing names of kings of Opis were found in the excavations of Seleucia. The texts (on two basalt slabs) are published, in translations only, by Waterman, 'Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Tel Umar', *Iraq* 1931 6, as 'Urur, king of Sumer, king of Akshak' and 'Undalulu, king of Akshak, six years'. See also *BASOR* 32 (1956) 18; *Archiv für Orientforschung* v 121; vi 35. [But Professor Waterman now kindly informs me that these inscriptions were really too worn to be deciphered, and withdraws these readings.]

<sup>91</sup> xvi 1.9.

<sup>92</sup> i 189.

<sup>93</sup> *Nat. Hist.* ii 30, 31.

<sup>94</sup> Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* 89. In the reign of Sharkalisharri, twenty-third century B.C., the king of Elam advanced as far as Akshak; this suggests it was on the east bank. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* 37-8.

<sup>95</sup> Luckenbill, *op. cit.*

<sup>96</sup> ii 1.

<sup>97</sup> Lieut. J. B. Bewsher, 'On part of Mesopotamia contained between Sheriat el Beytha on the Tigris and Tel Ibrahim', *JRGS* xxxvii (1867).

<sup>98</sup> 'Μηδίας Τείχος' in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*.



would seem to have been intended as an embankment holding in a vast lake north of Sippar which would correspond with that ascribed by Herodotus to Nitocris, and perhaps is not the Wall of 6 *bēru* between Opis and Sippar, but part of that of 20 *bēru* which contained the artificially filled lake. Unfortunately, we have no photograph of it, since none is published. However, if this is Xenophon's Wall of Media, as seems possible, then for a trench somewhere near Falluja to have reached to it, as Xenophon claims, is impossible; and if a wall *had* reached it from Falluja, it would have had no military sense or purpose.

The few clear facts which emerge from this picture indicate that there were, in fact, at least two series of defensive walls which were intended to protect the Babylonian plains: one, the trench of Artaxerxes, the other, the Sippar-Opis wall of Nebuchadnezzar. Xenophon's army passed through both of them, but he does not appear to have quite realised that they were distinct from one another. To take the second line first: the second, inner line of defence was the 'Maginot Line', built by Nebuchadnezzar from Opis to Sippar, which shows that he envisaged surrendering as indefensible a large and important area of fertile and populous country to the north. This shows the weak position which Nebuchadnezzar had already reached. Like the Maginot Line, it proved an illusory protection to a determined attacker such as Cyrus the Great, who was able to outflank it. The first line of defence lay much further north, where the alluvium begins on a line drawn very roughly from Ramadi on the Euphrates to Samarra on the Tigris. Inspection of the modern map shows that north of this line signs of ancient cultivation cease, for, apart from a few tells on the banks of the rivers and the Wadi Tharthar, there are hardly any more tells marked on the available maps.

*The Northern Fortifications.* Fifteen hundred years before Xenophon's time, the Sumerians found themselves faced with the problem of protecting their flourishing countryside and wealthy cities from the incursions of barbarian nomads from the north. The Third dynasty of Ur struggled to keep out the Amorite Bedouin or Martu as they were called, and Shu-Sin, King of Ur, dates the fourth year of his reign (2038–2030 B.C.) by the official description as that in which 'Shu-Sin constructed the wall called Muriq Tidnim—that which keeps out the barbarians'.<sup>99</sup> I am greatly indebted to Dr C. J. Gadd for generously allowing me to quote an unpublished letter in cuneiform found at Ur, in which the architect or commissioner of a king (presumably Shu-Sin), named Sharrum-bani, describes his building of the wall.<sup>100</sup>

- (1) To [Shu-Sin, or an officer of his] say:
- (2) Sharrum-bani, councillor of  
the assembly (?) speaks (thus);
- (3) 'To make a great wall, *Muriq-Tidne*,<sup>101</sup>
- (4) As commissioner I was sent.
- (5) It is now before thee; the Martu  
to (their) land they have thrown (back)
- (6) To build a wall, to cut off that raid,
- (7) (So that) Tigris and Euphrates together,
- (8) A breach in them should not overwhelm the fields,
- (9) Thou has sent me an order.
- (10) With my levies . . . [i.e. corvée-workers]
- (11) From the bank of the APKAL-canal . . .

<sup>99</sup> Edzard, *Die Zweite Zwischenzeit Babyloniens* (1952).

Gadd and Kramer, *Ur Excavations*, Texts, vol. viii.

<sup>101</sup> See above.

<sup>100</sup> U.16885. This letter will be published in

- (12), (13) — — — — — ?  
 (14) That wall, being 26 *danna*<sup>102</sup> . . . [long]  
 (15) Between the mountain of Aiabu . . .  
 (16) For my building, the Martu . . . (who?)  
 (17) dwelt [there?] obedience [rendered?]  
 (18) — — — ? — — — —  
 (19) Between the mountain and (?) — — — —'  
 [Little remains on reverse of tablet]

The purport of this remarkable letter seems to be this: Sharrum-bani has built an enormously long dyke, which serves the double purpose both of protecting the country from the floods of the two rivers and from the incursions of the Martu. Its course runs from the AP.KAL or Pallacottas Canal eastwards by Aiabu<sup>103</sup> (a small city on or near the Euphrates, the name of which was still preserved in the seventh century B.C. as Iâbi) from Falluja, south of the high ground, rising to 80 feet above the plain, described in exaggerated language as 'the mountain', which lies in the desert plain between Falluja and Aqar Qûf. How the wall can have been 26 *bêru* long, i.e. about 100 miles, is a little difficult to see. One can only imagine that it was continued along the banks of the Tigris and the Pallacottas Canal; alternatively, this figure, which is more than twice the distance between Tigris and Euphrates, represents a double line of wall in some way. It may, nevertheless, be no coincidence that it is the same as the two walls of Nebuchadnezzar added together, consisting of 20 and 6 *bêru* respectively. However, even this great wall was ineffective, and Ibbi-Sin, son of Shu-Sin, who reigned over Ur from 2029–2006 B.C., was already in difficulties by his sixth year. The Martu had penetrated his fortifications and, according to another letter, were said to be seizing one great fortress after another.<sup>104</sup> He was compelled to send a general named Ishbi-Irra to buy grain elsewhere in order to alleviate the famine which their invasion had precipitated. But Ishbi-Irra asks for a fleet of 600 boats to be sent to him by way of the river Euphrates, 'the river of the Mountain', and the 'dug Canals':

'To Ibbi-Sin my king speak; thus says your servant Ishbi-Irra:

'You have charged me with an expedition to Isin and Kazallu to buy grain. The grain has reached the price (of) 1 *gur* for each (shekel) . . . (and to date) 20 talents of silver have been spent for buying grain. But now having heard the report that the hostile Martu have entered your country, I brought into Isin the 72,000 *gur* of grain—all of it. Now the Martu—all of them—have entered the midst of the land (Sumer) (and) have seized the great fortresses one after the other. Because of the Martu I am not able to transport (?) that grain; they are too strong for me (and) I am immobilized. Let my king have 600 boats (with the capacity of) 120 *gur* each caulked; let him (?) . . . a boat (of?) 72 . . .; let him (?) 50 . . . (and) 1 door (and) . . . boat; and let him [collect] all (these) boats. (Then) let them be brought down to the narrow (?) . . . by (way of) the River, "the River of the Mountain" and the dug canals; and I will . . . before him. Put me in charge of the places where the boats are to be moored (and) . . . all the grain will be stored (?) in good condition. If you shall lack grain I will bring you the grain. My king, the Elamites have been weakened in battle, their grain . . . has come to an end. Do not weaken. Do not agree to become his slave, and do not walk behind

<sup>102</sup> I.e., *bêru*, double-hour's march.

<sup>103</sup> A town called Aiabu is mentioned as on the Euphrates in a letter from Mari, *Syria* xix 121 ff. It is probably the same as Iâbi', mentioned in a text of the seventh century B.C., apparently in the neighbourhood of Ramadi—see Musil, *op. cit.*, 212–13.

<sup>104</sup> This letter is published in part only by Jacobsen, 'The Reign of Ibbi Suen', *JCS* vii 39–40. I owe a complete translation to the kindness of Professor S. N. Kramer. On this period see Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, and Edzard, *op. cit.*, ch. 5.

him. I have (enough) grain for 15 years (to satisfy) the hunger of your palace and its cities. My king, put me in charge of watching over Isin (and) Nippur.'

Again we see the 'mountain' to be an important feature of the northern defence. In reply, Ibbi-Sin complains bitterly and storms that the 'Commandant of the Fortress before the Mountain' (Bad-Igi-Hur-Sagga) has failed in his duty to hold up the Martu.<sup>105</sup> In a letter to his master Ibbi-Sin, the offending officer, named Puzur-marduk, writes:<sup>106</sup> 'The enemy holds his forces ready for battle. The Wall is not strong enough against him', and he mentions the names of his neighbours, who include Taki-ilishu, Dyke-officer of the AP.KAL and ME.Enlil canals. Six years later, Ishbi-Irra proclaimed his own independence from Ur as King of Isin,<sup>107</sup> and in due course claimed dominion over the whole of Sumer 'from the camps of the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and from the banks of the AP.KAL Canal and the ME.Enlil Canal, from Hamazi to the sea of Magan'. This is clearly an expression describing the full length of the country like 'Dan to Beersheba' or 'Land's End to John o' Groats'. Ibbi-Sin, however, continued to reign at Ur, and in his seventeenth year in another date-formula, claims to have defeated the Martu 'who stormed in like the south wind';<sup>108</sup> but in Ibbi-Sin's twentieth year there was a famine again in Ur.<sup>109</sup> Ishbi-Irra's grip on Central Mesopotamia was complete, and soon afterwards the Empire of Ur came to an end.

The impression we receive at this period is that the northern frontier of Sumer lay along the line of the easterly bend of the Euphrates river where it runs from above Falluja towards Aqar Qûf; there it met the ME.Enlil Canal which, I conjecture, joined it to the Tigris. Was it the Jalu canal, now dried up? At some later date—probably under Hammurabi—the defences may have been pitched further north, since Hammurabi established a fortress on the Tigris called Kar-Šamaš, and another on the Euphrates at Rapiqu, usually located opposite Falluja.<sup>110</sup>

*Sittace.* The impression must not be given that the Greeks had lost their bearings in marching south-west to Sittace. What they did was for good reasons. As Ariaeus pointed out to them,<sup>111</sup> their army could not retreat the way they came by the Euphrates' right bank, since they had eaten up what provisions were to be found there on the way. They could not ford it in the face of the enemy, to retire up the more fertile left bank. It only remained to take the route up the Tigris. But the route along the Tigris right bank was impossible for an army of any size, involving as it did crossing a desert of six days' march. Antiochus III, marching to relieve Seleucia in 220 B.C. according to Polybius,<sup>112</sup> explicitly for this reason gave up the idea of travelling by the right bank of the Tigris as impassable. Tukulti-Ninurta II did it in part in 824 B.C., travelling southwards very fast, but only by mainly following the well-watered Wadi Tharthar, and nevertheless suffered great hard-

<sup>105</sup> Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*

<sup>106</sup> Letter from Kish, quoted by Edzard, *op. cit.*, 47 and n. 208. The AP.KAL and ME.Enlil are again linked in a text of Halium (of Kiš?) a contemporary of Shumu-abum of Babylon, who dammed them. Edzard, 113.

<sup>107</sup> Letter from Puzur-Numushda, governor of Kazallu, to Ibi-Sin, apparently in his twentieth year, quoting Ishbi-Irra's proclamation, and describing the latter's forcible annexation of several cities, Nippur, Subir, Hamazi, Girkal, his pardoning of Eshnunna, Kish and Bad-zi-abba, which have defected to him, and his seizure of the 'banks of Tigris, Euphrates, NUN.ME[AP.KAL] and ME.Enlil canals'; Falkenstein, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* xlix 60.

<sup>108</sup> Edzard, 33.

<sup>109</sup> 'In this year in Ur they sold gold and silver and other precious objects in the temples to pay Isin'; Edzard, 47.

<sup>110</sup> In his thirty-fifth year. See Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (1920-5). For the possible site of Rapiqu, see Goetze, 'An Old Babylonian Itinerary', *JCS* vii, map on p. 72.

<sup>111</sup> ii 2.11-12.

<sup>112</sup> Polybius v 51.6. Zeuxis warns Antiochus that if he marches from Liba along the right bank, he would, after six marches, come to the 'Royal Ditch' and would have to return if it were held by Molon and he were unable to force a crossing.

ship. The normal route by which the Assyrian armies in the eighth and seventh centuries used to descend on Babylonia was by the left bank of the Tigris, via Turnât. But for the Greeks to cross the Tigris to the left bank was possible only at Opis or Sittace, which were bridgeheads for the Ekbatana and Susa roads respectively. Certainly at Sittace, perhaps at Opis too, the river was crossed by a bridge of boats; Artaxerxes' army had withdrawn across the Tigris; if it was via Opis, he may have destroyed or dismantled a bridge behind him, if it existed, since Xenophon does not even mention it as he passed it on the left bank. In these circumstances, the invaders had no option but to make for the crossing at Sittace.

In the course of two days' further march from the Median Wall—a distance of 8 parasangs (say 30 miles)—they crossed two canals, one of them by a permanent bridge, the other by a pontoon bridge of seven boats.<sup>113</sup> We are told that these canals were derived from the Tigris and fed a network of irrigation channels. The first of these canals was probably the Archôus (=Arahtu?), which flowed from the Tigris near Opis, and later, through Apameia.<sup>114</sup>

This march of two days brought them to the Tigris bank, near a place called Sittace, evidently located on an island formed by the second of these canals with the Tigris; here they camped in a large park, well wooded and stocked with game. Just beyond it was the crossing of the Tigris, effected by means of a pontoon bridge of thirty-seven boats. The Persians were said to be afraid that the Greeks might wish to seize and hold the island formed by the canal and the river Tigris.<sup>115</sup>

Where was Sittace? Herzfeld<sup>116</sup> places it near the Islamic city of Wâsit, but this is much farther than 8 parasangs from the region of the Median Wall. According to Pliny,<sup>117</sup> it lay, with Sabdata, to the east of the Tigris, opposite Antiochia, 'between' the Tigris and Tornadotus (Diyala) river. Sitacene, according to Strabo, stretched due east of Seleucia. An alternative later Greek name for Sittace was Apollonia, and for Sitacene, Apolloniatis, a district which, according to Strabo, joined with the Zagros to form the southern boundary of Media.<sup>118</sup> Thus for Strabo and Pliny, Sittace lay on the east bank, and it would seem that the Tigris here is somewhat unstable. A distance of some 30 miles from Seleucia would bring us to a crossing in the neighbourhood of Aziziye, where the Tigris today describes a big loop towards the east; but a century ago, there was a second loop in the Tigris, now dried up, just south of Aziziye, such as could effectively have formed an island. In the centre of this loop lies a large double mound bearing the name of Humanîyê; it marks the site of a town of the Sassanian or early Islamic period,<sup>119</sup> and its security was ensured by a wall which formerly closed off the neck of the loop, according to Lieut. Collingwood's map of 1861 (FIG. 4).<sup>120</sup> Near the wall was a small fort of *tetrapyrگون* type, similar to that at the ends of the Istabalat and Umm Raus walls. Near the base of the loop were to be seen remains of a huge double canal running north-west to south-east,<sup>121</sup> parallel to the main course of the Tigris embankment. Beneath the town of Humanîyê, it would appear, the site of Sittace should be sought.

The army then crossed the Tigris by the great bridge of boats, wheeled round, and marched for four days towards the north, a distance of 20 parasangs, to Opis, 'a great

<sup>113</sup> ii 4.9–12.

<sup>114</sup> *Item Apamea, cui nomen Antiochus matris suae imposuit; Tigri circumfunditur haec, dividitur Archôo* (Pliny, *NH* vi 21.132). In his campaign against Bit-Yakin, Sennacherib brought Phoenician and Greek shipwrights and sailors to Nineveh and built galleys there, which he sailed down the Tigris to Opis, then dragged them on sledges (?) to the Arahtu to be refloated. There were two Apameas, Upper and Lower. The Upper is identified with Yakut's Zur-Famia (thirteenth century A.D.) and lies near Numaniya; Obermayer, *op. cit.*, 86.

<sup>115</sup> ii 4.13.

<sup>116</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>117</sup> *Loc. cit.*, *Inter has gentes* (the Medes and Adiabenis) *atque Mesenen Sittacene est, eadem Arbelitis et Palaestine dicta. Oppidum ejus Sittace Graecorum, ab ortu et Sabdata, ab occasu autem Antiochia inter duo flumina Tigrim et Tornadotum.*

<sup>118</sup> xi 13.6 *cf.* xv 3.12; xvii 17.

<sup>119</sup> Lestrangle, *op. cit.*, 37.

<sup>120</sup> Collingwood's map, *From Hillah to the Ruins of Niffer* (1861/2).

<sup>121</sup> The Arahtu-Archôus?



city', which lay beside a great river, a *plethron* wide, crossed by a bridge.<sup>122</sup> Xenophon calls this river the Physkos, but this is only a version of an Aramaic word for 'crossing', from the Aramaic-Semitic root *psh*, also found in Thapsacus. It is clear it was the Diyala.

*Opis to the Zab.* From Herodotus' account of Cyrus the Great's invasion of Babylonia, it is clear that Opis lay a little below the junction of the Tigris with the Gyndes, (Diyala or perhaps the Adhaim). But the Diyala mouth is hardly more than 40 miles from our presumed position for Sittace. Probably the parasangs were shortened by the delays involved in the crossing. The Greeks again may have made a big *détour*, either because they lost their way, or as is more likely, because they were treacherously misled by Tissaphernes, who was trying to gain time until the fresh army under Artaxerxes' brother should arrive to support him at Opis against the Greeks. In fact, the Persian army arrived, but was overawed, and preferred to keep the truce. From the Physkos bridge they marched northwards rapidly for six days for 30 parasangs (say 110 or 112 miles) through the deserts of the province of Media to the villages of Parysatis.<sup>123</sup>

At this date, the eastward bulge of the Tigris above Baghdad did not exist, its course running more or less direct through Harba bridge, west of Kadisiyah and Ukbura, its present course being cut only in the tenth century. Now there is no mention of any crossing of the river Adhaim or other streams; as this was the season of low water, lesser streams may well have been dry, including the Adhaim, which, except during the winter rains, used to lose itself in the quicksands of the plain below Dakûk, at least till the fourteenth century.<sup>124</sup> The villages of Parysatis, where they found corn and sheep, nevertheless, were close to the Tigris, since from there they proceeded along its bank. The villages of Parysatis must thus have been about Dûr or Daur (the '*Dura of the shepherds*' of Talmudic sources);<sup>125</sup> where the character of the countryside visibly changes and permits sheep grazing. The large and prosperous city called Kainai,<sup>126</sup> built on the other side of the river from which the natives crossed on *keleks* bringing provisions, may have been Tekrit (the Babylonian Takritâin).<sup>127</sup> For four more days they marched along the Tigris bank, the alluvial plain having been left behind, for 20 parasangs (say 75 miles), bringing them to the Zapatas river, or Zab.<sup>128</sup> Here they rested three days, while the tragedy was prepared which resulted in the trapping and assassination of the Greek generals by Tissaphernes and their desertion by Ariaeus; after a council of war in which Xenophon was elected a commander, they burnt their waggons and tents and set off in a hollow square and crossed the Zapatas, which was 4 *plethra* wide. They reached a watercourse, and after a rearguard action which took place about a mile beyond the watercourse, they got back to the Tigris and reached the city of Larissa,<sup>129</sup> which, it may be suggested, represents the Assyrian *al šarruti*, 'capital city'. This was a large (evidently) Assyrian city, by then deserted, with a stone pyramid 50 ft. high and walls 25 ft. broad and 100 ft. high, forming a circuit of 2 parasangs and being made of baked brick on a stone foundation, 20 ft. high. Now there is no suitable Assyrian site north of the lesser Zab: on the other hand, the description of Larissa nicely fits Nimrud (PLATE Ib), ancient Kalhu, where the citadel was built on a stone 'quay wall' which was at least 10 m. high on the west side of the mound (PLATE III), and where a *ziggurat* 70 ft. high still stands in the north-west corner, the circuit of its walls being about

<sup>122</sup> ii 4.25.

<sup>123</sup> ii 4.27.

<sup>124</sup> Lestrangle, *op. cit.*, 92.

<sup>125</sup> For references see Obermayer, *op. cit.*, 142. Here the Roman army crossed the Tigris after Julian's death (Ammianus xxv 6.8). 'Da Dura nicht mehr in die eigentliche, reich kultivierte babylonische Zone fällt indem schon unterhalb Dura der reine alluvialboden Babyloniens seine Nordgrenze

gefunden hat, so dürfte in alten Zeiten, ebenso wie Gegenwärtig, die Umgebung von Dura als Weideplatz für Schafherden gedient haben' (Obermayer, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>126</sup> ii 4.28.

<sup>127</sup> For Takritâin, or Birtu, see Musil, *op. cit.*, 363.

<sup>128</sup> ii 5.1.

<sup>129</sup> iii 4.7.

4½ miles.<sup>130</sup> But Nimrud is about 10 miles north of the Great Zab, and one is driven to conclude that, perhaps in the excitement of the Generals' ambush and the battle, or at some later date, Xenophon's notes became mutilated or confused and the two Zabs were telescoped into, or misunderstood as one, the intervening 60 miles being omitted. I cannot suppress the suspicion that before emerging as leader Xenophon may have been under arrest (*cf.* his dream, iv 3.7), held *incommunicado* by one of the parties of quarrelling and suspicious Greeks, and that his silence here conceals the fact. Six more parasangs brought them to the vast undefended wall built of bricks on a base of stone full of shells, near the city called Mespila, evidently also abandoned:<sup>131</sup> and the view that this was the site of Nineveh (Kouyunjik), deserted since its capture by the Medes in 612 B.C., must surely be correct.<sup>132</sup> Kouyunjik is about 20 miles north of Nimrud, though the periphery of its walls is about 7½ miles, not 6 parasangs. Naturally, this figure was only hearsay. Mespila clearly reflects the Assyrian word *mušpalu*—'low', a term applied to the lower town as opposed to a citadel, or to a depression.<sup>133</sup> It seems to be preserved in that of Mawsîl, the earlier form of the name of Mosul, across the river.<sup>134</sup>

The sternest tests of all still lay ahead for the Greeks. The battles they had fought and the distances which they had covered by forced marches in Mesopotamia were remarkable enough. But any who, like the present writer, may have crossed the truly formidable passes of the Bin Göl Dağ rising to 10,000 ft. in the comfort of a modern Land Rover on a modern road from Bitlis to Erzurum in summer may perhaps gain some better idea of the almost incredible discipline, high morale and almost superhuman powers of endurance of this force, who crossed these mountains of Kurdistan and Eastern Turkey in mid-winter, neither suitably trained, equipped nor clad for the purpose, and subject to intermittent attacks from enemies fighting on their home ground.

To follow this part of their journey, however, is no longer our purpose here. We can only echo the admiration of Plutarch's Antony:<sup>135</sup> *φθειρομένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ τῶν Πάρθων οὐκ ἀφισταμένων πολλάκις ἀναφθέγγασθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἱστοροῦσι· ὧς ΜΥΡΙΑΙ θαναμάζοντα τοὺς μετὰ Ξενοφώντος, ὅτι καὶ πλείονα καταβαίνοντες ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ πολλαπλασίοις μαχόμενοι πολεμίοις ἀπεσώθησαν.*

R. D. BARNETT.

*British Museum.*

<sup>130</sup> Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853) 123–6 for the ziggurat. For the circuit of the walls, see Felix Jones's map, *Nimrud and Selamiyeh* (1852).

<sup>131</sup> ii 4.10.

<sup>132</sup> R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Excavation at Nineveh* (1929) 138.

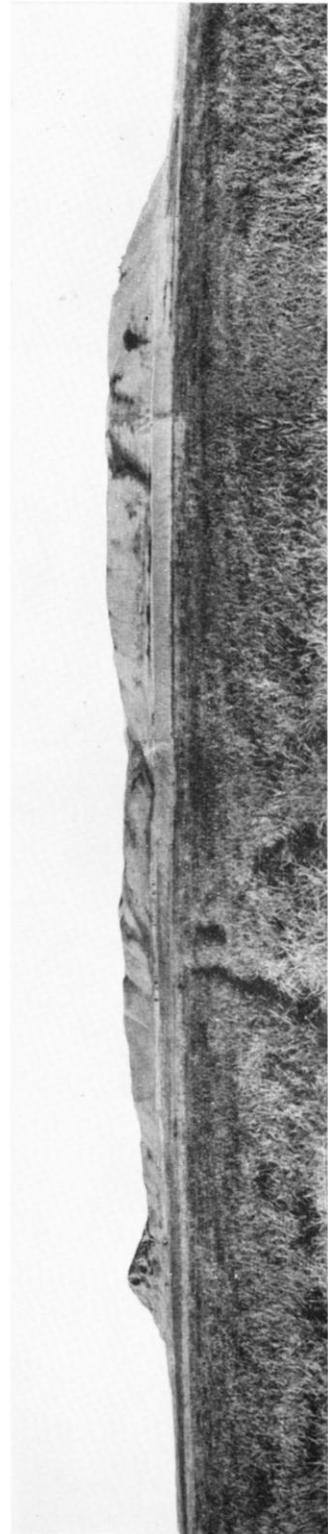
<sup>133</sup> Thompson and Hutchinson, *op. cit.* Herzfeld, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. 'Mosul', doubts the identification.

<sup>134</sup> Lestrangle, *op. cit.*, 87.

<sup>135</sup> Plutarch, *Antony* 45.

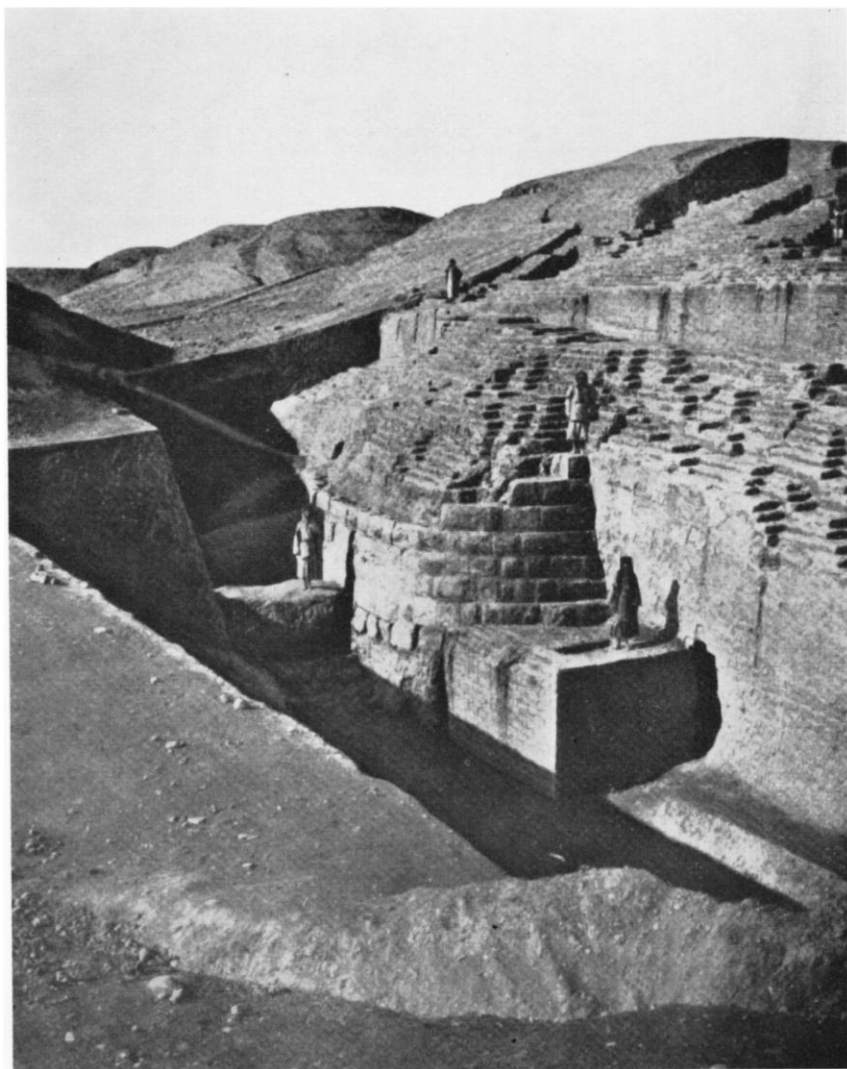


*a.* The wall called Al-mutabbag



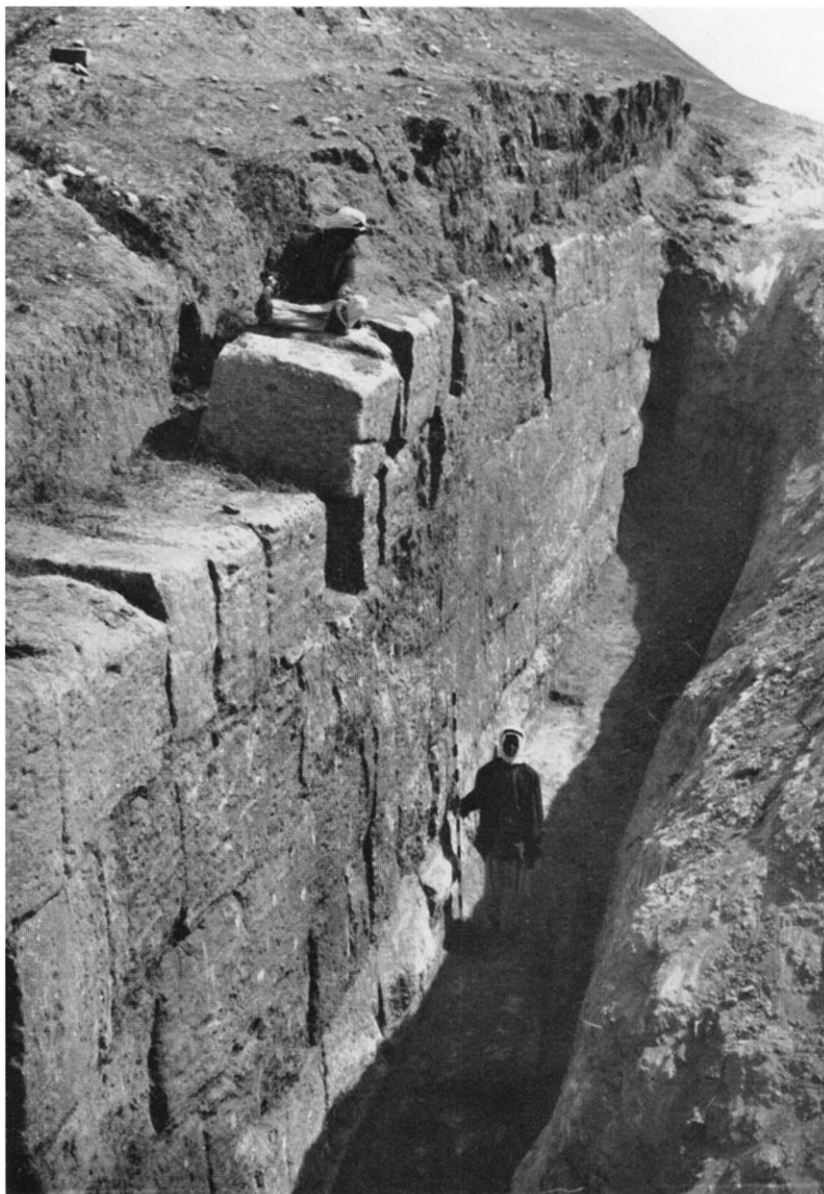
*b.* Nimrud, a general view. Photo M. Mallowan  
XENOPHON AND THE WALL OF MEDIA





The bastion wall at Assur

XENOPHON AND THE WALL OF MEDIA



The quay wall at Nimrud

XENOPHON AND THE WALL OF MEDIA

More Addenda from Toprak Kale

Author(s): R. D. Barnett

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## MORE ADDENDA FROM TOPRAK KALE

By R. D. BARNETT

Over twenty years have passed since the present writer first drew attention to the remarkable but completely forgotten archaeological discoveries made at the Urartian site of Toprak Kale, discoveries made in 1880 by Rassam and his associates, Dr. Raynolds and Captain Clayton, acting for the British Museum. I also summarised the results of the work in 1898 at the same site done by Lehmann (afterwards Lehmann-Haupt) and Belck; these finds are now all well-known.<sup>1</sup> Since then, modern museum conservation work and study has resulted in several new achievements, such as in a fresh publication of the candelabrum at Hamburg Museum,<sup>2</sup> the discovery and publication by Professor G. R. Meyer of a small silver pectoral at Berlin with a presentation scene<sup>3</sup> and a detailed study by him also of the large bronze figure of a "eunuch" in the same museum.<sup>4</sup> Professor Meyer also mentions a fine bronze palmette forming part of a wall panel of bronze plate made up of 17 fragments, also part of a bronze model building similar to that in the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> Lastly, a brief preliminary report of the fruitful excavations of Professors Afif Erzen and Emin Bilgiç, in 1959–61, has been published.<sup>6</sup> One of their most notable finds was another shield similar to those found by Rassam and Lehmann-Haupt with concentric friezes of lions and bulls and a dedicatory inscription of Rusas III.<sup>7</sup>

During the period described above, conservation work and study at the British Museum have likewise revealed some more remarkable pieces from Toprak Kale, and since everything from that great site is of importance, I take the opportunity of publishing them in honour of Professor Seton Lloyd, with whom I enjoyed a visit to Toprak Kale in 1957.

### A. Bronze Shields

1. (BM 135734). Figs. 1 and 2. Two large and four smaller fragments of a

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<sup>1</sup> R. D. Barnett, "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van", *Iraq* XII, 1950; *idem*, "The Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale near Van—Addenda", *Iraq* XVI, 1954. See also B. B. Piotrovsky, *Urartu; the Kingdom of Van and its Art* (London 1967, translated by Peter Gelling). In my surveys I overlooked the publication of part of a shield with concentric circles of passant lions and bulls standing on a guilloche from Lehmann-Haupt's excavations, now in Berlin, E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* (Berlin 1932), pl. 51, and Akurgal, *Urartäische und Altiranische Kunstzentren* (Ankara 1968), pl. XXXIX.

<sup>2</sup> K. Hoffmann, J. Friedrich "Der Urartäische Kandelaber in Hamburg und seine Keilinschrift", *Z.D.M.G.* N.F. 36, 1961.

<sup>3</sup> G. R. Meyer, "Ein neuentdeckter urartäischer Brustschmuck", *Das Altertum* I, 1955, pl. XXXIX.

<sup>4</sup> G. R. Meyer, "Zur Bronzestatuetten VA 774 aus Toprak Kale", *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Forschungen und Berichte*, vol. 8 (1967).

<sup>5</sup> Meyer, loc. cit. p. 9 and note 8. [Mention must also be made of a fine bronze belt ornamented with a flying eagle, Meyer, *Altorientalische Denkmäler im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin* (1965) figs. 133–5.]

<sup>6</sup> B. Ögün, "Kurze Geschichte der Ausgrabungen in Van und die Türkischen Versuchsgaben auf dem Toprak Kale 1959", *Z.D.M.G.* N.F. 36, 1961, 254; A. Erzen, "Untersuchungen in der urartäischen Stadt Toprakkale bei Van in den Jahren 1959–61", *Arch. Anzeiger* (1963).

<sup>7</sup> Erzen, loc. cit.

shield of the type of BM 22482 (already described in a previous article),<sup>7a</sup> showing a procession of lions and bulls, engraved and embossed, moving to left, separated by standing-lines decorated with zig-zags (a favourite Urartian decoration, occurring for example on quivers from Karmir Blur<sup>8</sup>). On the larger fragment at the right-hand of this group one of the shield-handles of narrow ribbon type survives (seen on the reverse of the shield, Fig. 2). Another shield-handle of the same type survives from the same shield, engraved on the front with traces of a bull and a lion (also seen from the reverse of the shield, Fig. 2). It comes just at the point where the band of bulls is reversed.

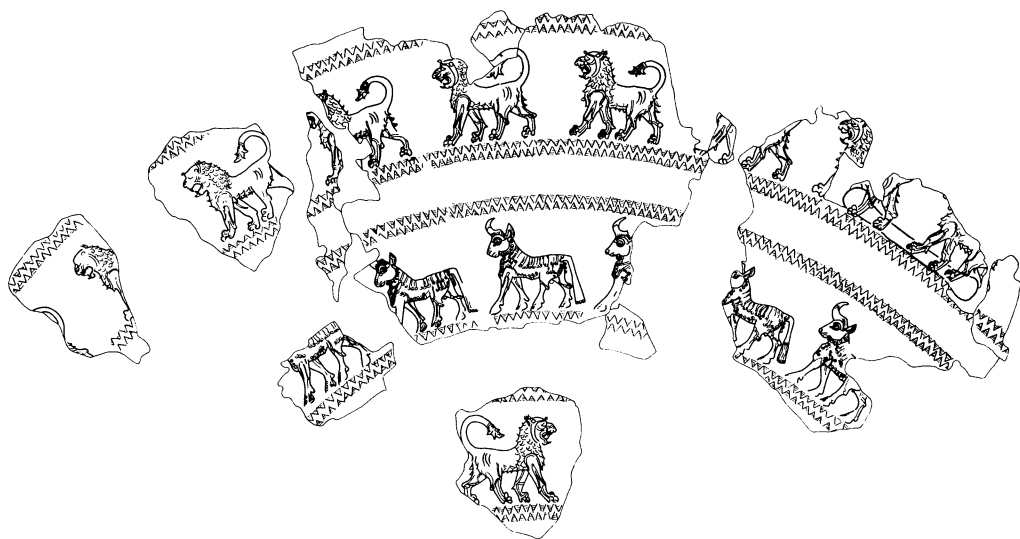


FIG. 1. BM. 135734. Shield no. 1.

A third shield-handle of tubular type (BM 135735) may also belong, 24 cm. long (Fig. 2A).

It is very probable that the rim of this shield survives as that inscribed with the name of Rusas III, son of Erimenas (see below, no. 6) now bearing the number 116735 and described in my article of 1950 p. 15 as no. 6.<sup>9</sup>

This shield was briefly described by me in 1950<sup>10</sup> under entry 3, as "small fragments of another shield with similar designs, but the animals separated by a standing-line of zig-zags." The lions and bulls most resemble those ascribed by Akurgal<sup>11</sup> to the "Kubischer Stil", dated by him to about 600 B.C.

The breadth of the part shown in Fig. 1 is about 60 cms., so this shield originally may have been about 80 cms. in diameter.

2. (BM 135733). Five small fragments of another similar shield (not illustrated) in which the lions stand on a *guilloche* similar to BM 22482, described in

<sup>7a</sup>see note (1) above.

<sup>8</sup>Piotrovsky, *Karmir Blur* II, pl. 16, III, Fig. 26; idem, *The Ancient Civilisation of Urartu*, pls. 85, 86.

<sup>9</sup>Barnett, loc. cit. p. 14.

<sup>10</sup>Barnett, *Iraq* XII, 1950, p. 14, no. 3.

<sup>11</sup>Akurgal, op. cit. pl. XXXIX, pp. 61-3.

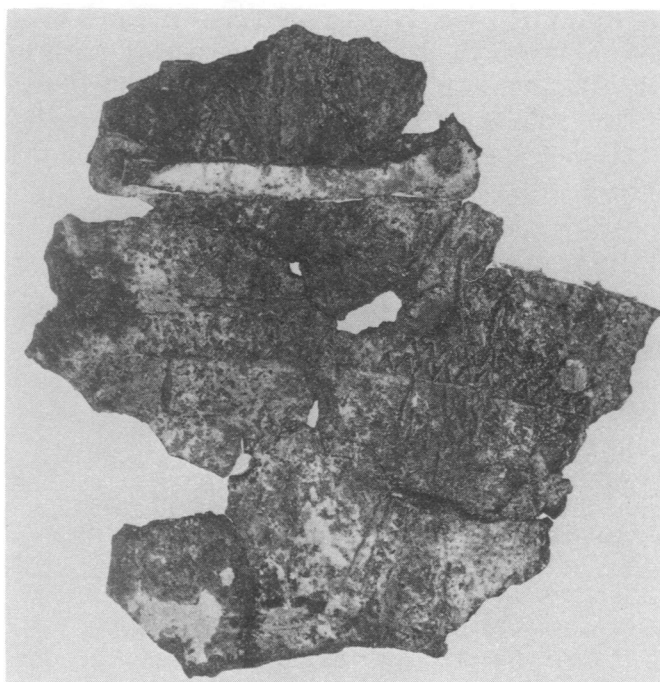
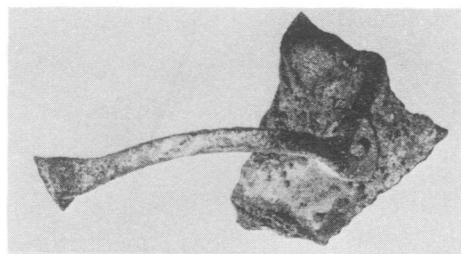
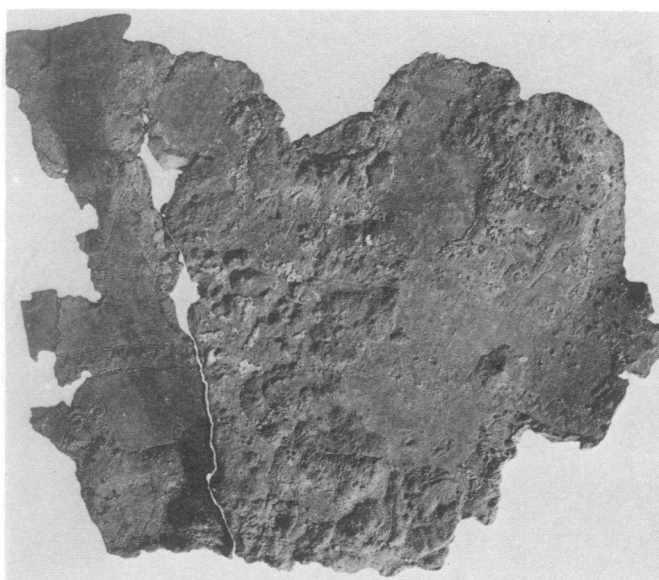


FIG. 2. BM. 135734. Shield no. 1 (front and reverse).

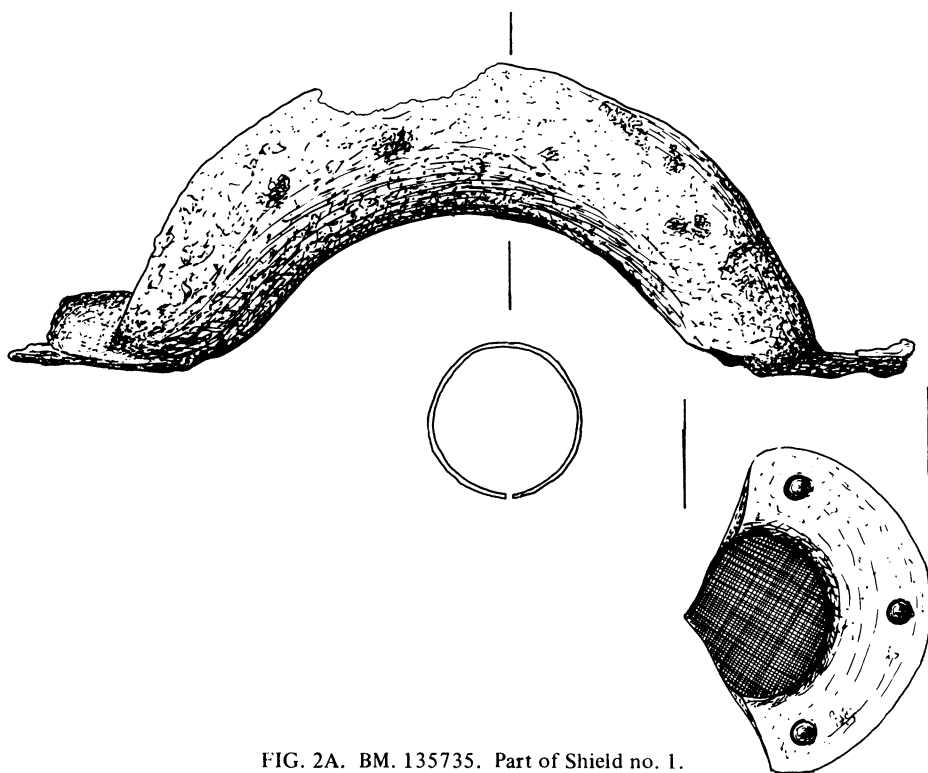


FIG. 2A. BM. 135735. Part of Shield no. 1.

my previous article of 1950 (see note 1).<sup>1 2</sup> Possibly from the fragmentary shield now in Berlin (see note 1). Another possible fragment is in the Louvre.<sup>1 2 a</sup>

3. (BM 135448). Plain shield with inscribed border, bearing dedication to the god Haldis by Rusas III. Fig. 3. Diam. 90 cm. A patch has been added in antiquity on the front where the handle was fitted. This is the shield found by Clayton and described and drawn (from the reverse) in his letter to Layard dated May 11 1880;<sup>1 3</sup> my statement on p. 11, note 1, in my article of 1950 (see above, footnote 1) is to be corrected as the shield was there said to have been lost. This shield, repaired in 1970 by Miss R. Enderly and Mrs. M. Hutchinson, is now exhibited in the Assyrian Basement, worn by the figure of an Urartian soldier. For the reading of the inscription I am indebted to Dr. E. Sollberger:

dḫal-di-e e-ú-ri-e<sup>1</sup> i-ni a-še mru-sa-a-še me-ri-me-na-ḫi-ni-še uš-tú-ni ul-gu-ši-ia-ni  
e-d[i-ni] dḫal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-ni mru-sa-a-še<sup>2</sup> me-ri-me-na-a-ḫi MAN dan-nu  
URU ṭu-uš-pa-e URU<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1 2</sup> All duplicates have the logogram EN or EN.ŠÚ.

<sup>2</sup> One would expect mru-sa-a-ni.

<sup>3</sup> Between -nu and the final URU one expects a-lu-si(-e) URU ṭu-uš-pa-(a-)e but the space available and the traces of signs rule this out in favour of the reading given here.

<sup>1 2</sup> Barnett, loc. cit. p. 13, no. 1.

<sup>1 2 a</sup> Fragment showing figure of a lion passant. I owe my knowledge of this fragment to the kindness of Monsieur P. Amiet, Keeper of the Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

<sup>1 3</sup> ibid. p. 11 and Fig. 8 and footnote 1.



FIG. 3. BM. 135448. Shield no. 3.

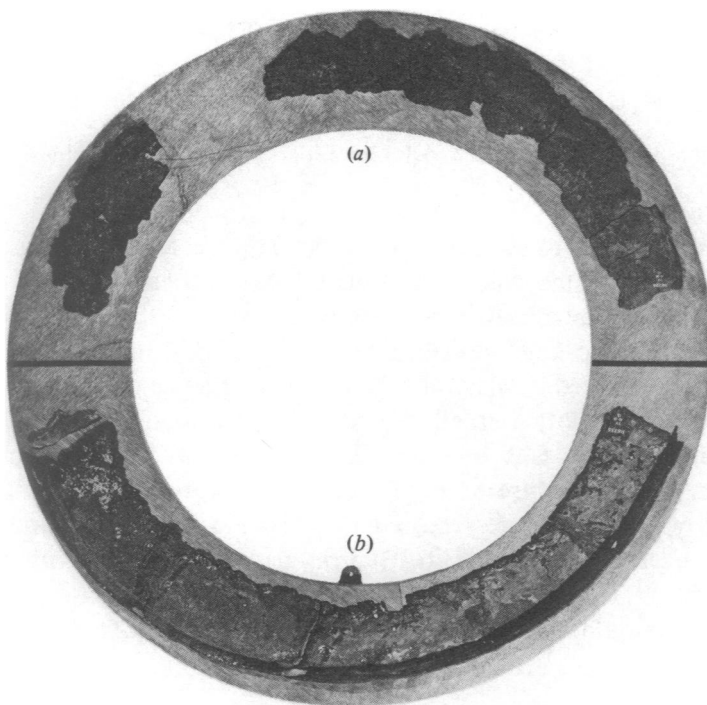


FIG. 4. (a) BM. 116735, (b) BM. 116736.  
Inscribed rims of Shields 5 and 6.



“To Haldi, the lord, Rusa, son of Erimena, has dedicated this shield for his life in the future. Through the power of Haldi (I am) Rusa, son of Erimena, the mighty king, ruler of the city ʾuṣpa.” [König, *Handbuch*, no. 133.]

4. It has now been ascertained that the plain shield published by me, as BM 22484 of my article of 1950 (see note 1) and illustrated there on pl. X, 2, comes not from Toprak Kale but Nimrud. Such confusions were unfortunately all too easily made on account of the often inadequate records and storage conditions of the last century.<sup>14</sup>

5. (BM 116736). Two curved inscribed shield rim fragments bearing the dedication of Rusa son of Argištiš (Fig. 4a). This in 1950 could not be identified and was said by me in my article of that year (see note 1 above) p. 7, to be lost. I am obliged to Dr. E. Sollberger for the reading:

. . . e-d] i-ni dḫal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-ni mru-sa-a-ni mar-giš-te-[ḫi] MAN dan-nu  
a-lu-si-[e . . . [König, *Handbuch*, no. 130.]

6. (BM 116735). Part of the rim of another shield (Fig. 4b) with dedication of Rusa son of Erimenas. A revised reading, by Dr. E. Sollberger, is as follows:

. . .] e-di-ni dḫal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-ni mru-sa-a-ni me-ri-me-na-ḫi MAN dan-nu  
a-lu-si-[e . . . (for translation, see no. 3).

This rim, as stated above, probably belongs to the shield fragment (135734) decorated with bulls and lions (no. 1).

7. (BM 135737). Fourteen parts of the inscribed rim of another shield originally with dedication as last. Original diameter about 80 cm. (not illustrated). The transcription by Dr. Sollberger is:

d[ḫal-di-e . . .<sup>1</sup> i-ni a]-še mru-sa-[a-še m]e-ri-me-na-ḫi-ni-[še uš-tú]-ni  
ul-gu-ši-ia-ni e-di-ni dḫal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ši-ni mru-sa-a-ni me-ri-me-na-a-ḫi MAN  
dan-nu a-lu-si-e URU ʾu-uš-pa-e URU

<sup>1</sup> Here the word for “(his) master” spelt either logographically or syllabically.

## B. Bronze Quivers

1. Rassam referred to finding quivers at Toprak Kale; at the time of my previous article, such a find was most unusual. Since then, however, several have been recovered from Karmir Blur and elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> Of those found by Rassam only one was recognized and published by me (BM 135456) in my second article of 1954, Fig. 9. It showed a finely engraved figure of a lion and a palmette. Since then it has proved possible virtually to complete the figure of the lion and it is now published afresh (Figs. 5 and 6). This quiver has now been mounted on perspex by Mr. I. M. McIntyre of the Research Laboratory and exhibited holding a clutch of arrows. These were restored by Messrs. J. R. Wiggins and McEwan of the Society of Archer Antiquaries, to fit iron arrowheads also from Toprak Kale (no. 135447).<sup>16</sup>

An interesting detail in this quiver is the claw in the tufted end of the lion’s

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.* p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.* p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> From the excavations of Lehmann-Haupt: see my article, *loc. cit.* p. 23, note 3.

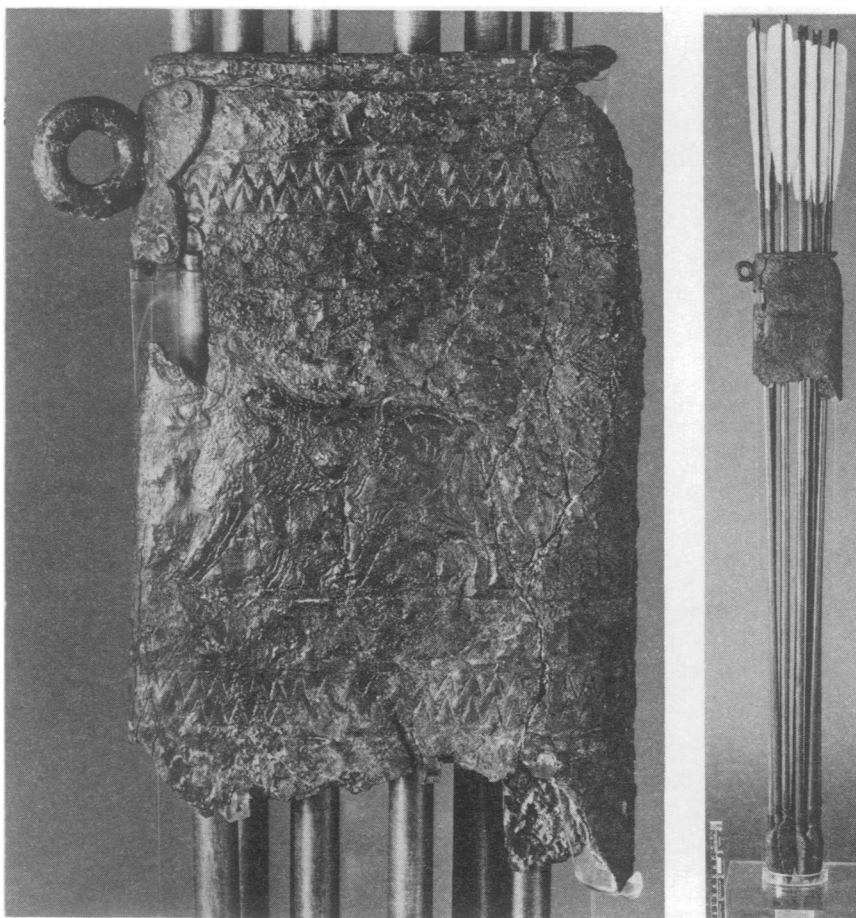


FIG. 5. BM. 135456. Quiver no. 1.

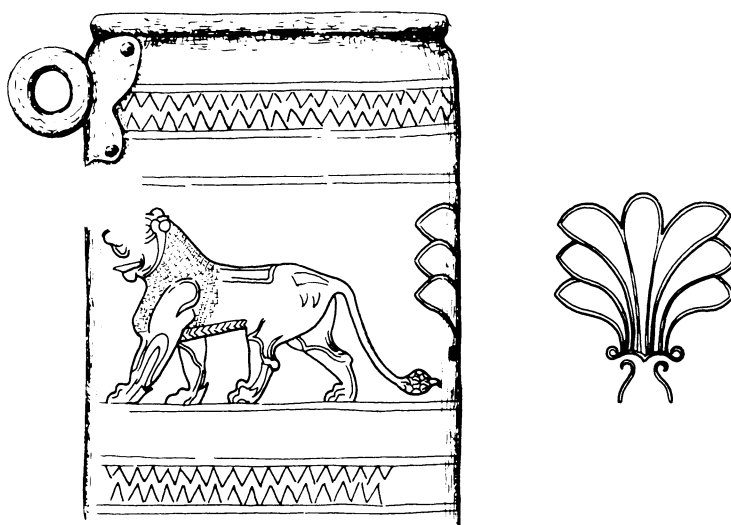
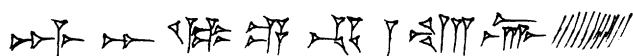


FIG. 6. Detail of Fig. 5.

tail. This is a survival of an Assyrian motif occurring in sculptures of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud and refers to a belief preserved in Hellenistic sources that the lion lashed himself into a rage with a claw in his tail. I have commented on this in an article in press ("Lions and Bulls in Assyrian Palaces", in *Actes de la XIX<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 1971*).

The length of the quiver as now restored is 155 cms., width (excluding loop) 14 cms.

2. (BM 135726). Upper part of front of quiver, decorated with three bands of double horizontal lines. Between the topmost pair is impressed a dedication in cuneiform to the god Haldi by Rusas, presumably III. There is a small vertical loop for suspension. At the base is a vertical row of holes for attaching lining. (Figs. 7 and 10). A copy and transcription of the inscription are provided by Dr. E. Sollberger.



dhal-di-e EN mru-sa-[a-se ...

3. (BM 135727, 135728). Two fragments of front of quiver, one from centre the other from lower half, decorated with horizontal bands of zig-zags, possibly part of (1) (Fig. 8). The lower half has a horizontal loop for suspension. The base is bent over at the back and riveted (Fig. 8c). Total length 41 cms.

4. A piece of back of a quiver, plain with small vertical loop. Holes for pinning on lining (Fig. 9). Length 29 cms.

5. A fragment of front of quiver, decoration of three bands of double lines (Fig. 11). Length 20 cms.

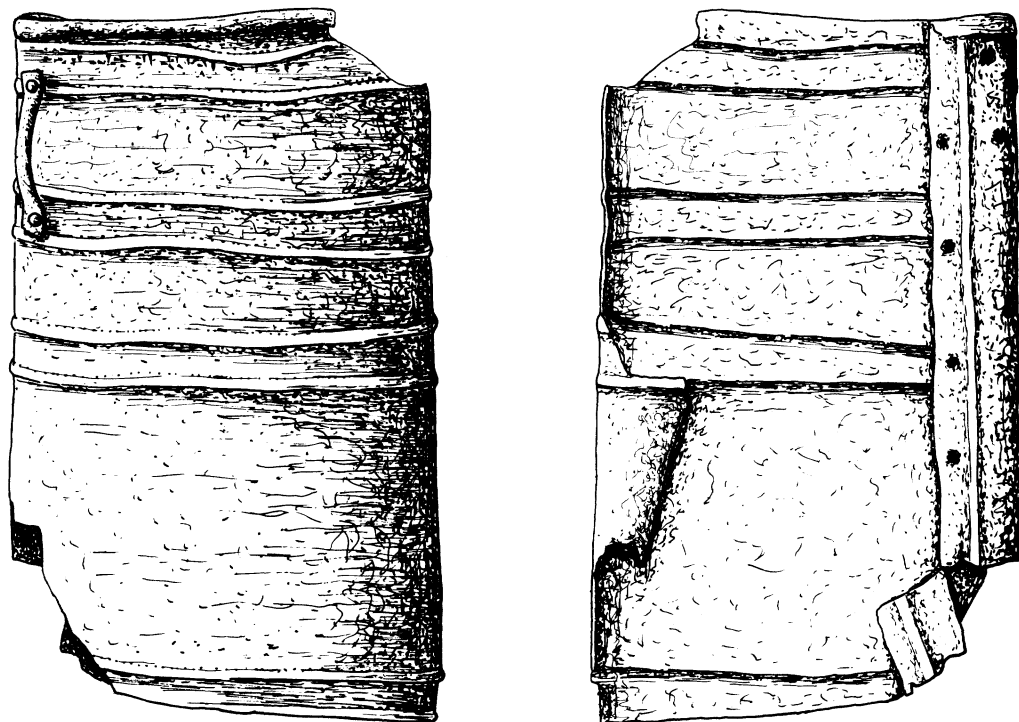


FIG. 7. Quiver no. 2.

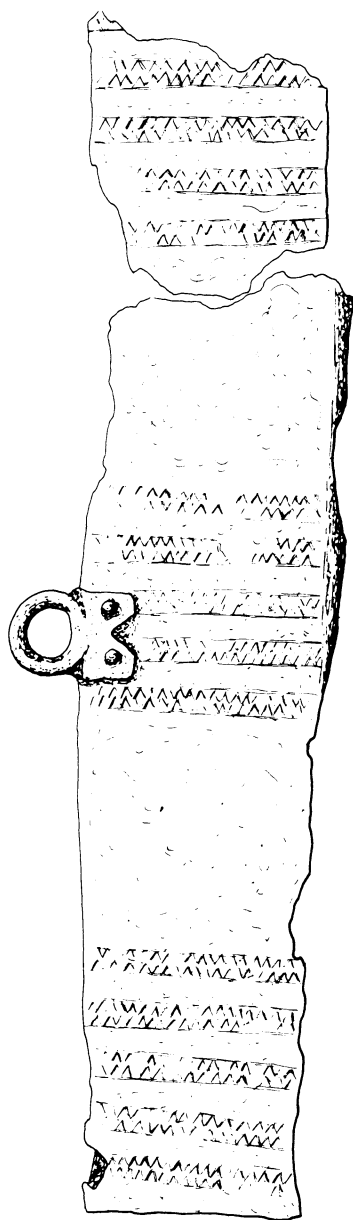


FIG. 8 (a).

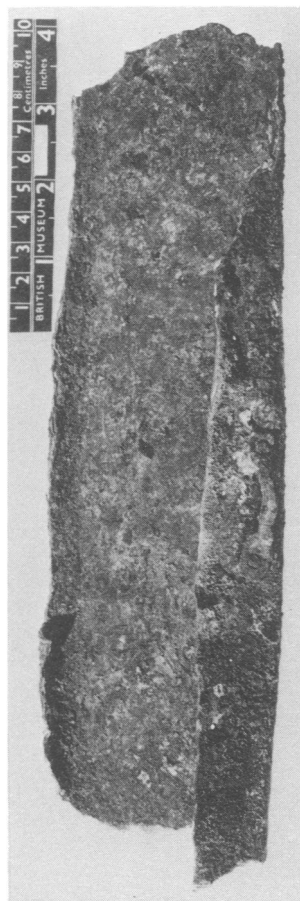
FIG. 8 (b). BM. 135727-8.  
Quiver no. 3.FIG. 9.  
Quiver no. 4.

FIG. 8 (c).

6. A fragment from lower part of quiver, three bands of double lines. Row of holes at right edge for attaching lining (Fig. 12). Length 24 cms.

### C. Openwork: Belt and Furniture Decoration

The skill of the Urartians in decorating metalwork with inlays or ornamenting it with openwork patterns is noteworthy. Assyrian art sometimes also favours openwork, but it prefers to cut around the figures as silhouettes.<sup>17</sup> Urartian skill

<sup>17</sup> e.g. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 200 Fig.



FIG. 12. Quiver no. 6.

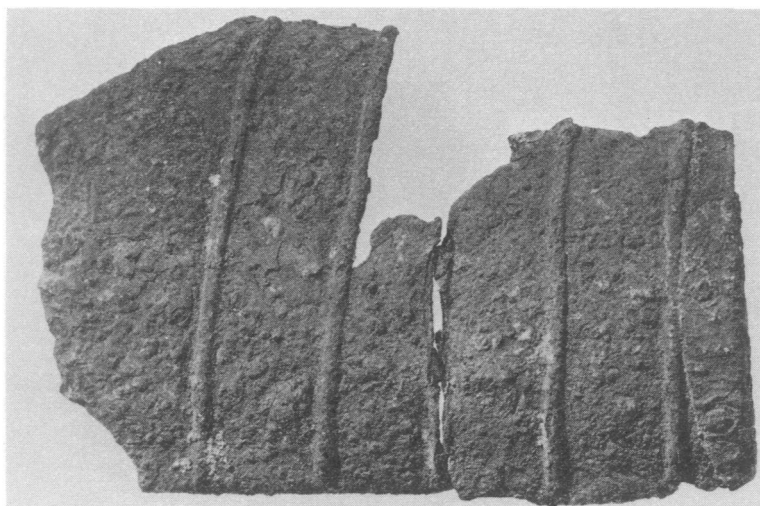


FIG. 11. Quiver no. 5.



FIG. 10. Quiver no. 2.

has already been shown by the broad bronze band curiously inlaid in openwork bearing an embossed incised design of pairs of bulls kneeling on either side of a small sacred tree beneath a large, possibly solar, rosette (BM 91209).<sup>18</sup> The bull's tail has one inlay surviving of blue lapis lazuli. Another instance is the bronze openwork "stand" described in my article of 1954,<sup>19</sup> almost certainly in fact the clasp of a bronze belt,<sup>20</sup> other parts of which I had recognized. Similar examples have now been identified at Gordion and elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> A revised drawing of that previously published by me is appended (Fig. 13).

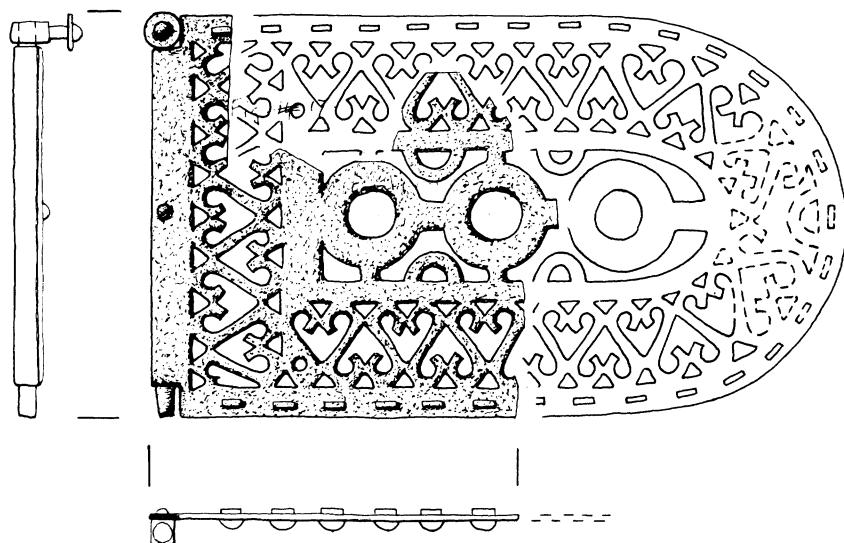


FIG. 13. Belt clasp.

In the course of the work of repairs it has proved possible to piece together from many fragments another remarkable example of the same or similar technique in metal 2 mm. thick, possibly once the sleeve or ornament of a leg of a piece of furniture (BM 135732, Figs. 14 and 15). It is 15 cm. high, 15 cm. broad and about 6 cm. deep, with return of 4.5 cm. at back. At the back the edge is cut as if for hinges. The openwork pattern shows three times repeated, one in centre, one each at sides, a 4-winged bearded(?) figure wearing the high hat or crown and a long garment with fringed edge, who stands beside a vertical guilloche, both hands raised. It seems possible that this object was once inlaid with stone or glass in gay colours. A similar figure appears on a 4-sided seal from Karmir Blur<sup>22</sup> running and upholding a winged disc.

<sup>18</sup> Barnett, *Iraq* XII, 1950, p. 16 and pl. VIII.

<sup>19</sup> *Iraq* XVI, 1954, p. 5 and Fig. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.* p. 9, Figs. 11 and 12.

<sup>21</sup> J. Boardman, "Ionian Bronze Belts", *Anatolia* VI (1961/2), Fig. 4, who compares three belts found in tumulus P at Gordion (R. S. Young, "Gordion 1956: Preliminary Report", *A.J.A.* LXI (1957), 327, pl. 92, Fig. 23), and Phrygian belt from Tumulus I near Ankara (T. Özgüç and M. Akok, "Zwei Tumuli bei Ankara", *Belleten* XI (1947), pls. 12–13, Figs. 23–25). We may also now add the following further examples of Anatolian belt buckles:—from Boghazköy: Peter Neve, "Bericht über . . . die Deutsche Boghazköy-Expedition, 1970", *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* XIX 1970, pl. 11, c; and from Samos (4 examples): Ulf Jantzen, *Samos VIII. Ägyptische und Orientalische Bronzen*, Bonn 1972, pl. 47 and pp. 49–51.

<sup>22</sup> Piotrovsky, *Urartu: the Kingdom of Van and its Art*, p. 73, Fig. 53.

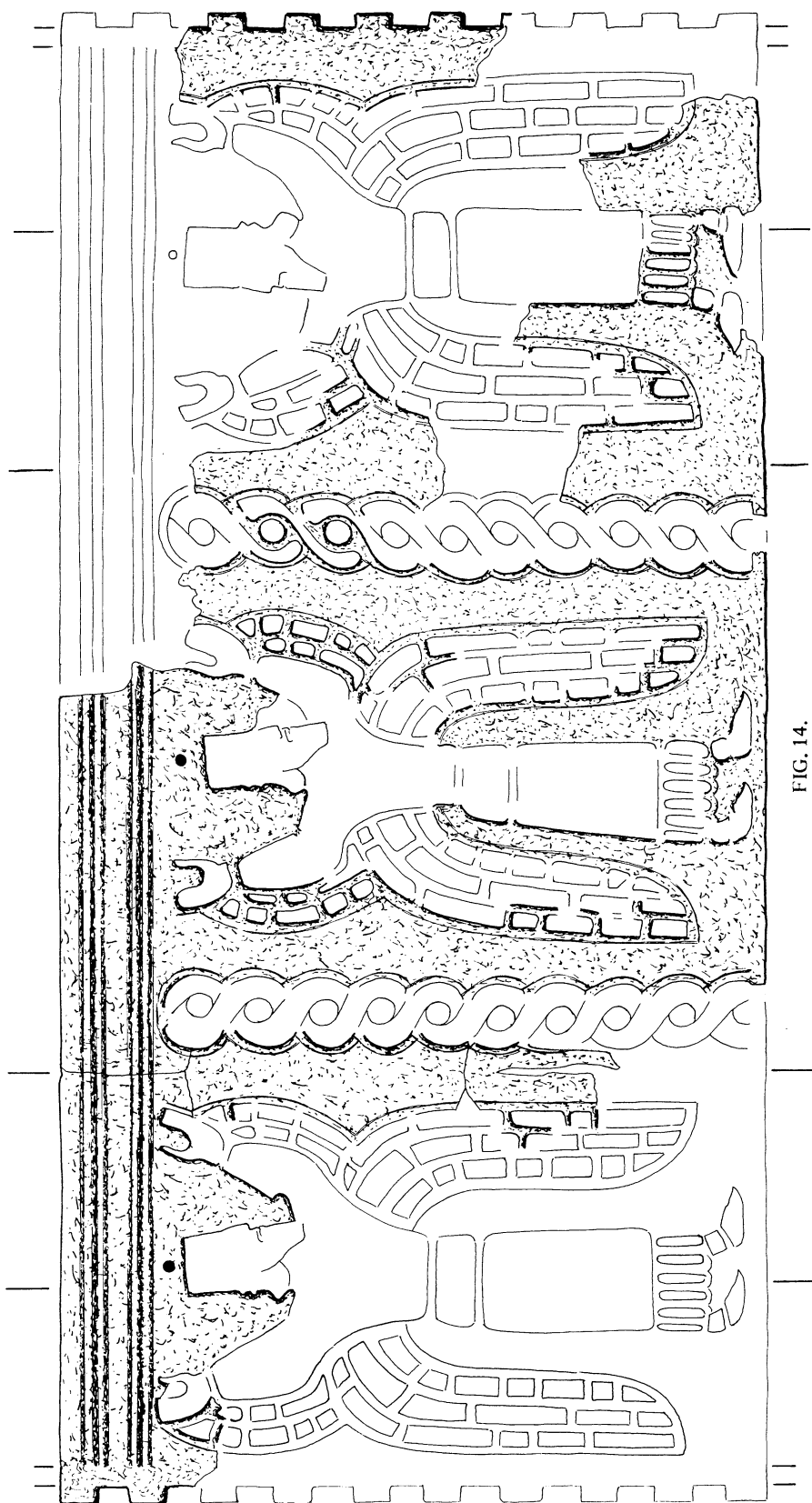


FIG. 14.  
Furniture ornament in openwork.



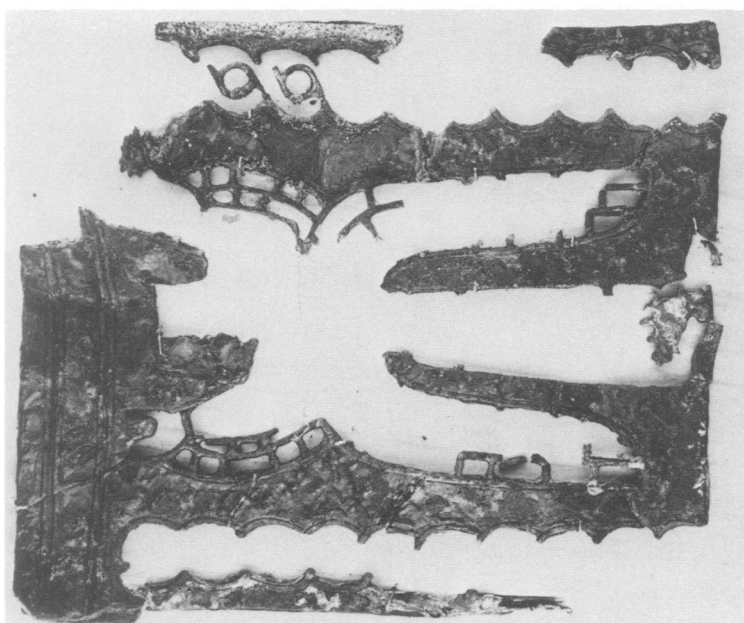
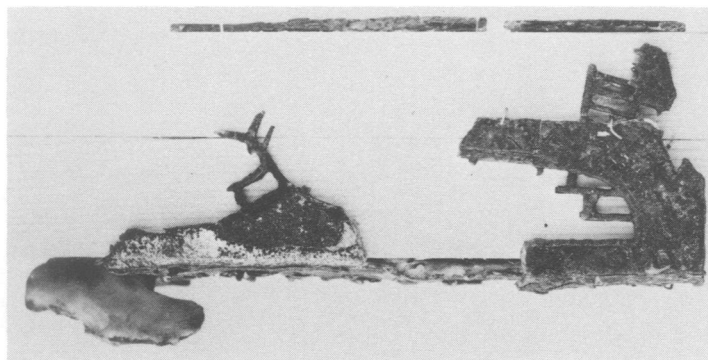
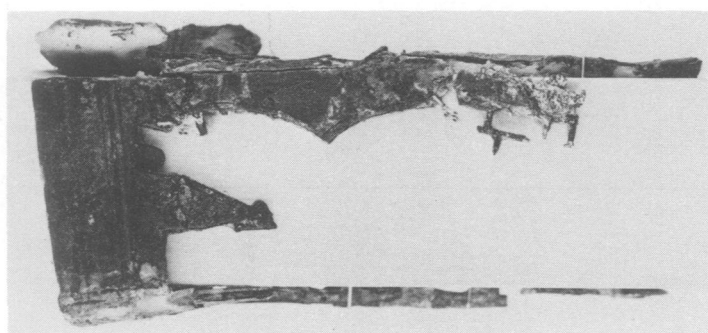


FIG. 15. BM. 135732. See Fig. 14.





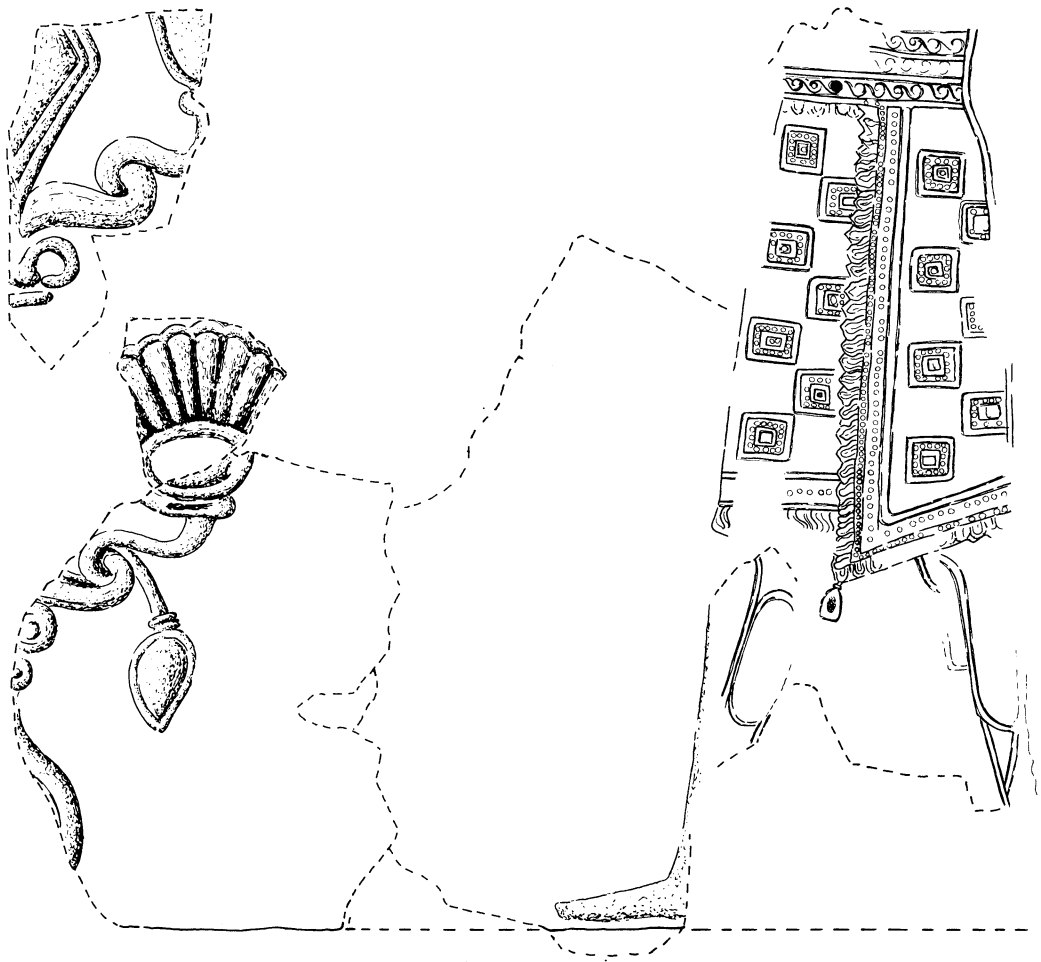


FIG. 16. Decorated sheet.

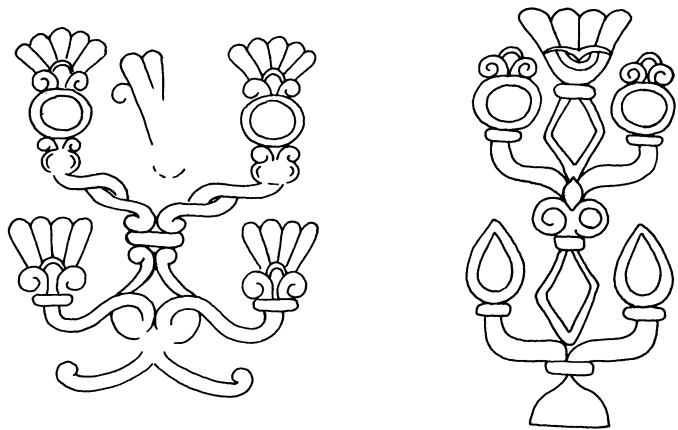


FIG. 17. Urartian Sacred Trees.

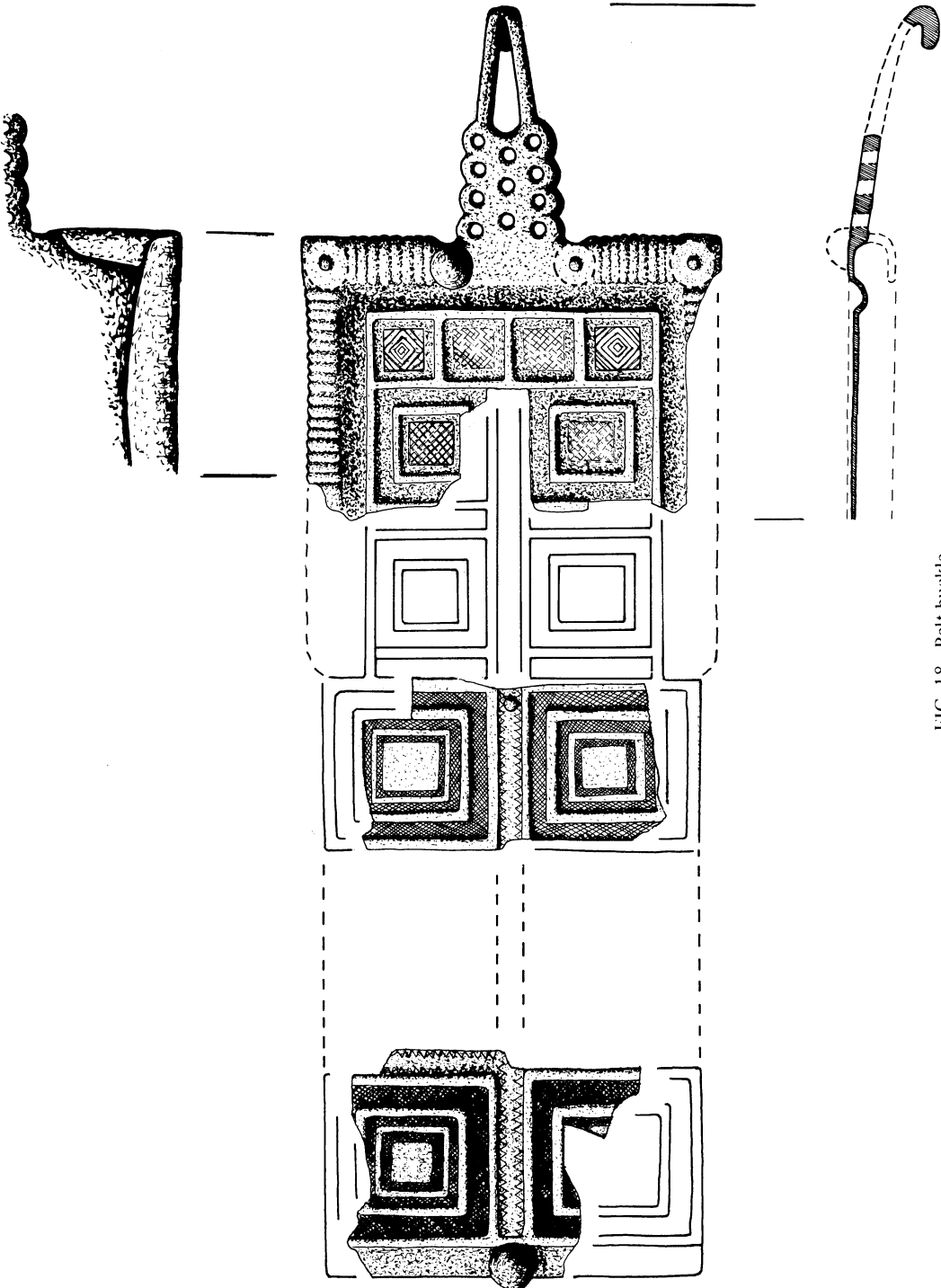


FIG. 18. Belt buckle.

On one short side are traces of a cuneiform inscription.

This piece has been skilfully joined and restored by Miss R. Enderly.

#### D. *Decorated Sheet*

One of the most remarkable pieces recently recovered, though sadly incomplete, is a rectangular plaque 31 cm. high x 35 cm. broad of thick bronze sheet, incised with part of a figure, wearing a rich belt ornament with spirals and a fringed kilt with the usual square "sequins", moving to the left towards a Sacred Tree (Fig. 16). The most closely similar trees I have been able to find (shown in Fig. 17)<sup>23</sup> are from Karmir Blur and Kelermes. Unfortunately only the lower part of this figure survives, too little to determine the nature of the figure with certainty but similar compositions occur on a pyxis lid,<sup>24</sup> and in fresco or on helmets<sup>25</sup> from Karmir Blur and show that a male or occasionally female figure can be shown beside the Tree, while the (usually) winged eagle-headed man cannot be excluded, but traces of his wings are not here visible. In any event, it seems what we have is only about a quarter of the original whole scene, with ancient broken edges, and this suggests either that it was anciently either folded up into four or, more likely, was made in four parts. If the latter, it will have formed a rectangle about 62 cm. by 70 cm.

Both items, C and D, may well have formed part of the decoration of the seat of the great throne of the god Haldis discussed in my two previous articles. The subject, however, of its possible restoration, will be discussed in a separate study.

*Post Scriptum.* Since the above article was completed, parts of another fine belt have been restored. These belong to the belt buckle referred to as no. 13 in my article in *Iraq* XII, 1950. p. 16 and bearing the registration 80-12-16, 24. Original length approximately 31 cm. x 10 cm. It has now been cleaned and drawn, revealing fine decoration (Fig. 18). In addition to the above, two fine jugs of red burnished Urartian ware, with trefoil lip, have turned up in the Department of Oriental Antiquities, but have now been transferred to the W. Asiatic. They bear the registration number 92-2-16, 14 and 15, having entered the Museum in 1892. Ht. 17½ cms each. Under the handle of no. 14, is engraved a Urartian hieroglyph in the form of a circle with three strokes hanging from it. Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt* II<sup>2</sup> (1931), figure on p. 579.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup>(a) From bronze belt found at Karmir Blur, Piotrovsky, *Isskustvo Urartu*, Fig. 42; Van Loon, *Urartian Art*, Fig. 14. (b) On hilt of scabbard from Kelermes, Van Loon, op. cit., pl. XL.

<sup>24</sup>B. Piotrovsky, *The Ancient Civilisation of Urartu*, pl. 112.

<sup>25</sup>ibid., pls. 94, 95.

<sup>26</sup>Drawings illustrating this article are by Miss A. Searight. For reading and copying and transcribing the cuneiform I am indebted to Dr. E. Sollberger.